

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)**

**NEW LEFT**

**SECTION 1**

**100-449698**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

## **NOTICE**

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SAC, Los Angeles (100-71737)

8/31/70

Director, FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 7/10/70.

Enclosed is the original of a diary, additions to which have been accomplished by the Document Section of the Laboratory, to be used in effecting counterintelligence against [REDACTED]

Authority granted to utilize the enclosed diary and the anonymous letter in the manner described in relet. Make certain, in this effort to neutralize [REDACTED] and his activities on behalf of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the FBI is not in any way identified as the source of this material.

Keep the Bureau advised of all developments.

Enclosure

1 - Los Angeles  
100-69259 [REDACTED]

② 1 - 100-444083- [REDACTED]  
LAC:lmj (8) [REDACTED]

NOTE:

[REDACTED] LA came into possession of a diary belonging to [REDACTED] and the Laboratory was requested to make forged entries in the diary. These entries were phone numbers at Army and Secret Service, which when called would identify the agency. Other notations made in the diary indicate that [REDACTED] has been furnishing information to these agencies. He would thus be branded as an informant. This altered diary will be sent to [REDACTED] with an anonymous note indicating that more than one person has knowledge of the diary's existence, in this way [REDACTED] will not be able to ignore or destroy the diary. [REDACTED] will be forced to take some action against [REDACTED] thereby neutralizing [REDACTED] and his activities on behalf of the PLP. By memo, 7/21/70, from R. D. Cotter to Mr. C. D. Brennan, the Document Section of the Laboratory Division was authorized to make the necessary alterations to above diary, following which LA Office authorized to anonymously mail the altered diary to PLP headquarters in NYC.

SEP 11 1970

DUPLEX - YELLOW

Memo to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

**OBSERVATIONS:**

The recommendation of the Los Angeles Office appears to have merit. Since it would be introduced into PLP circles by anonymous means, there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. The Document Section of the Laboratory has advised that alterations can be successfully made. If, through this means, [REDACTED] Party reputation is seriously impugned, it can result in the neutralization of a PLP official.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS:**

1. That the Document Section of the Laboratory Division be authorized to make the necessary alterations and
2. That the Los Angeles Office be authorized to anonymously mail the altered document to PLP headquarters in New York City.

✓ sketch

✓  
J. M. L.

WBS

Dear Sir, I have the honor to inform you that I  
have been, hitherto, & I do it & always find it  
to be, a pleasure & privilege to do my duty  
discreetly. cc attached.

John L. Rice

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan *PI/5*

FROM : R. D. Cotter

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
NEW LEFT

1 - Mr. W. Sullivan  
 1 - Mr. Conrad (Attn.:  
 (W.D. Griffith) *J.W.*  
 DATE: 7/21/70  
 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan  
 1 - [REDACTED]  
 1 - [REDACTED]

*W.H. J.W. J.W.*

PURPOSE:

This memorandum recommends the Laboratory Division be authorized to make alterations in a diary in order that the diary's owner, [REDACTED], a Los Angeles Security Index subject, can be branded as an informant of a Government agency.

The Los Angeles Office has obtained a diary that was maintained and then discarded by [REDACTED]. It contains the usual names, addresses, and dates of meetings that could be expected in any diary of an active member of an organization. It is clearly identified as belonging to [REDACTED] since it contains his name handwritten in the front.

Los Angeles has proposed that the Laboratory Division make certain forged additions to this diary which would strongly indicate that [REDACTED] had been contacting an Army intelligence agency or the Secret Service. The entries would be cryptic, would refer to Party affairs, and would contain phone numbers which would, when called, be identified as Army intelligence or Secret Service agencies in Los Angeles.

Los Angeles suggested that the altered diary be sent to [REDACTED] with a cover letter written in the vernacular of the New Left which would point out the specific Army and Secret Service notations and would accuse [REDACTED] of being an informant. The letter would be anonymous and would contain enough "bait" to insure that Rosen would follow up with an investigation.

100-449698

NOT RECORDED

203 SEP 3 1970 10 AUG 29-1970

RHH:jes *J.W.*  
(9)OBSERVATIONS - OVER *J.W.*RESEARCH SECTION *J.W.*

ORIGINAL

SAC, Atlanta (100-7461)

9/9/70

Director, FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 8/31/70.

Relet contains your suggestion that you contemplate making it known anonymously to [REDACTED] of the "Atlanta Constitution" the fact that [REDACTED] has been transferred by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to New York. Prior to any such action on your part, you are to advise the Bureau specifically of your plans after they have been formulated and include the method of transmission which you contemplate furnishing the information anonymously. As you are aware, no action may be taken in captioned matter until specifically approved by the Bureau.

Keep the Bureau and New York appropriately advised under the individual case captions of [REDACTED] concerning their contemplated transfer to New York City.

1 - 100-448170  
1 - 105-101357

WHF:lmj (7)

NOTE:

[REDACTED] AT advised that it has recent information indicating the SWP is transferring [REDACTED] from Georgia to New York. AT proposes anonymously nominating a correspondent of the "Atlanta Constitution" inasmuch as AT indicates subject's transfer to New York would make her an ineligible candidate. [REDACTED] AT indicates action will be done. THIS IS TO ADVISE AT THAT Bureau authority must be obtained prior to any such action.

100-448170  
DUPLICATE

60 SEP 22 1970

SEARCHED

SEP 22 1970

NY 100-157178

Newark airtel to Bureau, 6/27/69, stated source could furnish no information concerning possible payment to subject for his appearances at Rutgers Law School on 5/1/69.

Cleveland airtel to Bureau, 6/10/69, advised sources were unable to develop information regarding who financed subject's trip on 5/11/69, to Case Western Reserve University.

San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 6/16/69, furnished information concerning closed bank accounts of [REDACTED] at Wells Fargo Bank and Fidelity Savings and Loan, Berkeley, California. No current account could be located at San Francisco concerning any possible connection with RUBIN's finances.

New York airtel to Bureau, 8/7/69, set forth close association of the New York Review Presentation (NYRP) with the New York Review of Books. No contact was made with the NYRP to determine if that company booked RUBIN's appearance at Grinnell College on 4/18/69, as it was felt that the contact would be unproductive and might result in embarrassment to the Bureau.

[REDACTED] observed JERRY RUBIN's appearance on 4/18/69, at Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa. L72

The following sources were utilized in LHM:

| <u>Source</u> | <u>Identity</u> |
|---------------|-----------------|
| NY T-1        | NY 2705-S       |
| NY T-2        | NY 6386-S       |
| NY T-3        | [REDACTED]      |
| NY T-4        | [REDACTED]      |

NY 100-157178

Enclosed for the Bureau are 15 copies of an LHM concerning RUBIN's finances. Enclosed for Chicago, are five copies of the LHM for dissemination to the USA, Chicago, for possible use in the investigation entitled, "DAVID T. DELLINGER aka ET AL, ARL-CONSPIRACY; OO: CHICAGO."

For the information of the Bureau, all leads set out to various offices in re NY airtel, 5/12/69, have been covered, and pertinent information is included in enclosed LHM. Re Boston letter to NY, 8/25/69 (IO) stated that on 8/12/69,

Robert Walker Agency, American Program Bureau, 5 Temple Place, Boston, Massachusetts (conceal) advised that agency had no record of any bookings for JERRY RUBIN.

On 9/8/69, [REDACTED], advised she observed the subject depart 5 St. Marks Place, NYC, at about 3:30 p.m. on 9/6/69, and walk towards 2nd Avenue.

NY airtel to Bureau, 6/13/69, stated NY sources could obtain no information concerning the subject receiving any remuneration for his appearance at the Teach-In on Repression held at New York University on 2/7/69.

Buffalo letter to Bureau, 6/18/69, stated Buffalo sources were unable to furnish any information concerning remuneration received by the subject for appearing at the State University of New York on 3/1/69.

Cleveland report of [REDACTED], 6/24/69, stated sources were unable to furnish information re financing of RUBIN's trip to Bowling Green State University on 4/19/69.

Cincinnati report of [REDACTED], 7/14/69, stated subject was not reimbursed for any of his speaking engagements during 4/20 - 23/69, in Cincinnati, but on each occasion at conclusion, made a plea for funds to assist in his legal defense arising out of his Federal indictment in Chicago.

F B I

Date: 9/9/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-131719)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-157178) (P)  
SUBJECT: JERRY CLYDE RUBIN  
SM-C (KEY ACTIVIST)  
(OO: NY)

Re Bureau airtel, 5/1/69; New York airtels to Bureau,  
5/12/69 and 8/21/69; New York airtel to Bureau, 7/11/69,  
dual captioned, "ABBOTT HOWARD HOFFMAN aka, SM-ANA; JERRY  
CLYDE RUBIN, SM-C", and Boston letter to New York, 8/25/69  
(IO).

(6-Bureau (Encls. 15) (RM)  
(1-176-59) (RUBIN)  
(1-100-449698) (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT)  
(1-176-1410) (DAVID T. DELLINGER, aka ET AL, ARL-CONSPIRACY)  
(1-100-446997 Sub. 70) (NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - FINANCES)  
3-Chicago (100-43245) (Encls. 5) (RM)  
(1-176-39) (RUBIN)  
(1-176-5 Sub. C) (DAVID T. DELLINGER, aka ET AL, ARL-CONSPIRACY)  
1-New York (176-9) (RUBIN)  
1-New York (176-133) (DAVID T. DELLINGER, aka ET AL, ARL-  
CONSPIRACY) (42)  
1-New York (100-163303) (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT) (42)  
1-New York (100-165006) (FINANCES - NEW LEFT) (42)  
1-New York

WBB:bea  
(15)

100  
NOT RECORDED

47 :SEP 16 1969

70 SEP 10 1969

Approved: F.W. Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-157178

Source

NY T-19  
NY T-20

Identity

NY T-21

Enclosed LHM has been classified "Confidential" because of information contained therein from ~~NY T-1, NY T-2, NY T-3, NY T-9, NY T-12, and NY T-19~~, which if disclosed could result in the identification of these sources of continuing value and thus impair their future effectiveness. Such impairment could have an adverse effect on the national defense interest of the country.

Counterintelligence Recommendation

DECLASSIFIED  
844417 7/19/76  
C-TT:mp

In view of information set forth in enclosed LHM regarding bank accounts concerning RUBIN and remuneration he has received since January, 1969, in connection with public appearances, it is recommended that copies of this LHM be furnished to the Internal Revenue Service for their assistance concerning investigation being conducted by that agency in relation to subject's failure to file Federal Income Tax Returns. It is believed that enclosed LHM contains enough evidence to indicate that RUBIN has had enough income during 1969 to make filing mandatory.



**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

New York, New York  
September 9, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. Bufile 105-131719  
NYfile 100-157178

Jerry Clyde Rubin

All sources mentioned in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

**Jerry Rubin**

On June 24, 1966, NY T-1 advised that Rubin attended one session of the 18th National Convention, Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), as an observer. This convention was held in June, 1966, in New York City.

The subject resides at Apartment 16,  
5 St. Marks Place, New York, New York,  
and has Social Security Number 285-32-7441.

### Bank Information

On July 24, 1968, NY T-2 advised the subject has indicated that his bank account was maintained under the name of [REDACTED]

On January 10, 1966, NY T-3 advised that [redacted] was a registered

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Jerry Clyde Rubin

name indicating attendance at the National Membership Conference of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) which was held on December 27, 1965 to January 2, 1966, at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

On June 10, 1969, NY T-4 advised that the University Branch of the Wells Fargo Bank, Bancroft Way, Berkeley, California, has no current or closed accounts under the name of Jerry Rubin or the Rubin Defense Fund, but that branch has a closed account under the name [REDACTED]. The source stated this account was opened on OCTOBER 1, 1968, with a \$62.00 deposit under special checking account number 2138794169. The account was closed on January 8, 1969, with a bank draft made to the Amalgamated Bank of New York, 11-15 Union Square, New York City, in the amount of \$346.63; the balance of the account at that time. The source said the only significant deposits during the period the account was opened were a \$340.29 deposit on October 25, 1968, and a deposit of \$6,812.14 on October 28, 1968. There were no deposits made after November 15, 1968. The source further stated that significant checks written on the account were a \$425.00 check written November 8, 1968, a \$6,000.00 check written November 11, 1968, and a \$500.00 check written November 25, 1968. No information was obtained concerning to whom the checks were written. The only information the source could furnish was an address furnished to the bank by [REDACTED] "in care of [REDACTED].

Jerry Clyde Rubin

On April 22, 1969, NY T-5 advised a special checking account of [REDACTED] maintained at the Amalgamated Bank, 11-15 Union Square, New York City, reflected a balance as of April 22, 1969, of \$1,078.49. This account was opened on November 29, 1968. Check number 28, dated January 27, 1969, made payable to the New York Telephone Company, in the amount of \$18.70, was drawn on this account in payment of a bill for telephone number 475-5529. (This number is listed to Jerry Rubin, at 5 St. Marks Place, New York City, in the current Manhattan, New York Telephone Directory).

Information furnished by NY T-5 is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to Miss Sara T. Malloy, Senior Vice President, Amalgamated Bank, 11-15 Union Square, New York City.

On May 9, 1969, NY T-6 advised that on March 27, 1969, regular checking account number 084-003146 was opened at the Chemical Bank, 756 Broadway, New York City, under the title of Rubin Defense Committee, Apartment 16, 5 St. Marks Place, New York, New York, with initial deposit of \$500.00 in cash. Certification of officers reflect they are: [REDACTED] Co-Chairman; [REDACTED] Co-Chairman and [REDACTED] Secretary-Treasurer. Either may sign on the account singly.

On the dates indicated below, NY T-6 advised the above checking account had the following balances:

| <u>Date Advised</u> | <u>Date of Balance</u> | <u>Balance</u> |
|---------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| May 9, 1969         | May 9, 1969            | \$449.58       |
| June 5, 1969        | June 4, 1969           | 574.93         |
| July 7, 1969        | July 7, 1969           | 409.44         |
| September 3, 1969   | August 31, 1969        | 457.93         |

Information furnished by NY T-6 is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to Mr. John Luongo, Assistant Vice President, Chemical Bank, 756 Broadway, New York, New York.

Jerry-Clyde Rubin

[REDACTED]

On February 23, 1966, NY T-7 advised that as of that date [REDACTED] was a secret member of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) in New York City.

A characterization of the PLP is attached hereto.

[REDACTED]

"The New York Times", a daily New York City newspaper, dated June 15, 1965, carried an article which indicated that [REDACTED] was elected Vice President of [REDACTED] during the spring of 1965.

The March 6, 1969 issue of "Rat Subterranean News" lists [REDACTED]

"The New York Times" dated September 4, 1968, carried an article entitled, "Politics Now the Focus of Underground Press". In this article, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] described that paper as an underground paper which was politically oriented and designed to appeal to the high school and college students in the New York City area.

On June 10, 1969, NY T-5 advised that records maintained at the Amalgamated Bank of New York, 11-15 Union Square, New York, New York, reflect a regular checking account was opened on that date under the name of Social Education Foundation, account number 02-669636, care of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 10003. Initial deposit was \$1,000.00. Check drawn by [REDACTED] from her account number [REDACTED] at Amalgamated. The only signer on the account is [REDACTED] Trustee. Her attorney in this matter was [REDACTED]

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Jerry Clyde Rubin

This account was established by the Declaration of Trust dated May 16, 1969, by [REDACTED], Trustee, which created the Social Education Foundation. By letter dated May 27, 1969, the bank's legal department advised [REDACTED] Attorney for the trust, that it would not be advisable for the bank to accept for deposit in this account checks payable to the order of the Jerry Rubin Fund, and that the bank would not accept checks for deposit payable to the Jerry Rubin Fund.

On August 5, 1969, NY T-5 advised the name of the above account has been changed to Social Education Foundation - Jerry Rubin Fund. The source stated that check Number 1 was drawn on the account, dated July 28, 1969, made payable to Jerry Rubin in the amount of \$200.00. The check was endorsed as follows: "OK to cash, [REDACTED] Trustee." The balance of this account as of July 31, 1969, was \$2,003.79.

On June 12, 1969, NY T-8 advised that records of the Manhattan Savings Bank, 770 Broadway, New York, New York, reflect that savings account number 148508 under the name of Rubin Defense Committee was originally opened on February 6, 1969, under account number 148159, however, on March 18, 1969, the account number was changed due to a lost passbook. Initial deposit was \$341.00. Deposits to the account are usually checks from individuals for various small amounts of money. Resolutions dated February 27, 1969, and filed March 18, 1969, reflect officers are: [REDACTED] Co-Chairman; [REDACTED] Co-Chairman and [REDACTED] Secretary - Treasurer.

Only one signature is required. Resolutions certify that the Rubin Defense Committee is a non-profit organization. Address for the account is care of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 10003. The balance of the account as of June 12, 1969, was \$1,590.52.

Jerry Clyde Rubin

On July 31, 1969, NY T-8 advised that the above savings account of the Rubin Defense Committee had a \$500.00 withdrawal on June 17, 1969. The bank issued check number B054209 for the \$500.00, payable to the Rubin Defense Committee. The check was endorsed by [REDACTED] for the Rubin Defense Committee and was deposited in the Chemical Bank account number 084-003146, at 756 Broadway, New York, New York. On July 8, 1969, the account was credited with \$7.00 and the balance as of July 31, 1969 was \$1,111.14.

Information furnished by NY T-8 is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to Mr. Milton E. Boyce, Assistant Vice President, Manhattan Savings Bank, 770 Broadway, New York, New York.

#### Other Financial Information

On January 8, 1969, NY T-9 advised that the subject was a speaker at the Symposium Group of Northwestern University (NU), Evanston, Illinois, on January 7, 1969.

On February 13, 1969, NY T-10 advised he had determined that NU offered a honorarium of \$300.00 for all guest speakers and that it was his understanding that the subject had accepted the money for his appearances at NU on January 7-8, 1969.

On February 13, 1969, NY T-9 advised that the subject was paid \$300.00 plus expenses for his appearance at the NU Symposium in January, 1969. It was learned that the subject stayed with [REDACTED] a member of the NU SDS, on the night of January 7, 1969.

On February 26, 1969, NY T-11 advised that after reviewing several accounts maintained by NU at the State National Bank, Evanston, Illinois, on February 25-26, 1969, check number 9626 was located and was drawn on account number 6289922 of the "Student Affairs of Northwestern University," dated January 8, 1969, in the amount of \$52.00, made payable to Jerry Rubin. An endorsement appeared on the back of the check making the check payable to the account of [REDACTED]

8  
[REDACTED]  
Jerry Clyde Rubin

with the signatures of Jerry Rubin and [REDACTED] appearing thereon. There was a partially legible bank stamp of the Amalgamated - New York, New York.

In the event the above information is made public, a subpoena duces tecum should be directed to Julian Mead, Auditor, State National Bank, Evanston, Illinois.

On June 13, 1969, NY T-12 advised that Jerry Rubin came to Pennsylvania State University (PSU), State College, Pennsylvania, on the evening of February 13, 1969, at the invitation of [REDACTED] SDS Chapter. He spoke at a meeting of the student body in the Hetzel Union Building and his appearance extended into the early morning hours of February 14, 1969. He was not known to have received any funds from any source for this appearance; however, after Rubin's speech "the hat was passed" in an attempt to raise funds to help him with his arrests in connection with the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in the summer of 1968.

On August 5, 1969, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that investigation [REDACTED] reflected the only remuneration given to Rubin for his appearance at PSU on February 13, 1969, was approximately \$30.00 collected by voluntary contributions after his appearance at the school.

On May 7, 1969, NY T-13 advised that the subject was paid \$225.00 by the Associated Student Body Fund of the University of California at Los Angeles, for his appearance on that campus on March 6, 1969.

On May 2, 1969, NY T-14 advised that the subject appeared on the campus of San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge, California, on March 7, 1969, through an invitation extended by the United Christian Movement, which is a recognized campus organization. Source stated that he believed the SDS may have paid for Rubin's appearance, as most of the audience was composed of SDS members and a collection was taken up following the speech for the purpose of providing funds for Rubin to return home. It is not known how much money was collected.

Jerry Clyde Rubin

On May 22, 1969, NY T-15 advised that Jerry Rubin had requested \$1,000.00 for his appearance at Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin, March 17, 1969. Rubin was actually paid only \$200.00. Beloit College did not sponsor Rubin's appearance. The money was collected from Beloit College students and the identities of the contributors or collectors are unknown.

On April 10, 1969, NY T-16 advised that on that date the subject spoke in the Rodney Room of the Student Center in the University of Delaware Campus at Newark, Delaware. His visit was sponsored by the Seminars Committee of the University of Delaware, Student Government Association, which paid him \$800.00 for his appearance.

On March 3, 1969, NY T-17 advised the subject was to speak at the University of Delaware on April 10, 1969, and was to be paid \$800.00 by the University of Delaware Student Government Association for the appearance.

On April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1969,

[REDACTED] WKRC Station, Cincinnati, Ohio, advised that Jerry Rubin had been scheduled to appear on the Dennis Wholey "11 o'clock to noon Show", a guest interview type program, on April 11, 1969. [REDACTED] advised that WKRC had agreed to pay for Rubin's services as well as transportation to and from Cincinnati to his residence in New York City, which is the usual procedure with any guest appearance on this program.

[REDACTED] stated since the Wholey Show had been cancelled completely on April 11, 1969, WKRC notified Rubin of this cancellation and requested the return of an American Airlines plane ticket in the amount of \$79.80 previously sent to him.

Rubin according to [REDACTED] advised WKRC that he would not return the ticket and would in fact use it because when he agreed to appear on the Wholey Show he had given up other commitments.

Jerry Clyde Rubin

The Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, student newspaper, Volume 76, Number 21, entitled, "Scarlet and Black", dated April 11, 1969, on page five, contained a quarter page advertisement of "The New Politics Conference" to be held April 16-18, 1969, in which Jerry Rubin was listed as one of the featured speakers.

On April 18, 1969, a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed Jerry Rubin's appearance at "A Conference on the New Politics" which was held at Grinnell College at 4:15 p.m.

On August 5, 1969, NY T-18 made available copies of a check dated April 22, 1969, which was made payable to the New York Review Presentation, Room 1418, 250 West 57th Street, New York, New York, in the amount of \$424.00. The check was drawn on the Poweshiek County National Bank, Grinnell, Iowa, which is the bank of Grinnell College and drawn on the Grinnell College account and was endorsed with a printed stamp endorsement "NY Review Presentations, 250 West 57th Street, New York, New York", and was also stamped with the Marine Midland Grace Trust Company of New York, number 1-108. The source also made available a memorandum which indicated that the check in the amount of \$424.00 dated April 18, 1969, was for "Honorary and travel expenses - Conference on the New Politics." The expenditure was approved by C.E. Gilmore, Director of Program in Practical Political Education, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa.

On May 1, 1969, NY T-19 advised that on April 30, 1969, the subject spoke at 4:20 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. in Meissner Lounge, Freshman Dormitory, Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, where a collection was taken up for his anticipated legal expenses in connection with his Federal indictments. He spoke again in the evening at Colton Chapel, Lafayette College where a collection was again taken up and a \$20.00 bill was observed in the collection. The subject was sponsored by Stephen Crane, a long established literary society at the college.

Jerry Clyde Rubin

On May 23, 1969, NY T-20 advised the Recognized Student Organizations at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts, sent a check for \$400.00 to the subject in payment for his May 12, 1969 appearance as a speaker at that university.

In May, 1969, NY T-21 advised that Rubin appeared at Lowell Lecture Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, on May 14, 1969, and that neither Harvard University nor any student organization at the university paid any fee for his appearance at this meeting. The source conjectured that it was possible that Rubin was given all or part of the money collected at the conclusion of the meeting. The source was unable to furnish any estimate of the amount of money collected. The source did not have any knowledge of funds expended by Rubin during his trip to the Boston area.

On May 13, 1969, Richard Fulton, owner of Richard Fulton Lecture Agency, 200 West 57th Street, New York City, advised he booked the subject to speak on May 16, 1969, at the Mankato State College, Mankato, Minnesota, and that Rubin would net \$400.00 from the agency. The agency pays the expenses which is reimbursed to the agency by the school.

1.PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

The "New York Times" city edition Tuesday, April 20, 1965, Page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP, which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by MILTON ROSEN and MORTIMER SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's overall revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention, MILTON ROSEN was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and LEVI LAUB, FRED JEROME, JARED ISRAEL, WILLIAM EPTON, JACOB ROSEN, JEFFREY GORDON and WALTER LINDER were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution", a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio", a monthly newspaper.

The August, 1968, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "above all, this paper is dedicated to the fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire Government on every level".

The source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

SAC, Newark (100-50166)

9/16/69

REC 66

Director, FBI (100-449698) REDACTED

COINTELPRO NEW LEFT

Reurairtel 8/25/69.

The Bureau has no objection to your directing an anonymous communication to [REDACTED], an official of the Black Panther Party, purportedly from the Students for a Democratic Society. You are, therefore, authorized to make the anonymous mailing suggested in RONIRTEL. You should, however, assure that the statements made by Hilliard are correctly quoted. Take all steps necessary to protect the identity of the Bureau as the source of this letter. In this regard, you should not use a typewriter from your office.

RHH:jes

(4)

NOTE:

A split has developed between the BPP and SDS over the subject of community control of the police. In a recent interview printed in the "Guardian," a leftist publication, David Hilliard, an official of the BPP, violently scored SDS in obscene terms. Newark suggests quoting these terms in a reply letter from an SDS leader to a leader of the BPP in Jersey City. The objective would be to further the split between SDS and the BPP in that area.

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| MAILED 23   |
| SEP 16 1969 |
| COMM-FBI    |

59 SEP 24 1969  
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Jerry Clyde Rubin

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Michael Klonsky, National Secretary, in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the worldwide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1603 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" reflects the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated, but each Region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.

F B I

Date: 8/25/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-50166)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReBuairtel 8/20/69.

Newark proposes, with Bureau approval, to send the following note to [REDACTED] at Jersey City BPP Headquarters, 361 Pacific Avenue, Jersey City, N.J. The letter will be typed on "5 & 10" type stationery, with a manual office typewriter by a Special Agent. It will not go through the Newark Stenographic Pool because of the language. The spaces in the following letter containing asterisks refer to that colloquial phrase utilized by DAVID HILLIARD on page 4, column 2, fifth paragraph from bottom, in 8/16/69 issue of the "Guardian," which implies an unnatural physical relationship with a maternal parent.

"To Former Comrade [REDACTED]

"As one of 'those little bourgeois, snooty nose' ---- 'little schoolboys' --- 'little sissies' Dave Hilliard spoke of in the 'Guardian' of 8/16/69, I would like to say that you and the rest of you black racists can go to hell. I stood shoulder to shoulder with Carl Nichols last year in Military Park in Newark and got my a-- whipped by a Newark pig all for the cause of the wineheads like you and the rest of the black pussycats that call themselves Panthers. Big deal; you have to have a three hour educational session just to teach those \* \* \* (you all know what that means don't you! It's the first word your handkerchief head mamma teaches you) how to spell it.

2 - Bureau (RM)

1 - Newark

DDO:aas

(3)

100-447678-11  
REC-68 10 AUG 26 1969Approved: fl/DK  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

LPA SEC.

NK 100-50166

"Who the hell set you and the Panthers up as the vanguard of the revolutionary and disciplinary group. You can tell all those wineheads you associate with that you'll kick no one's \* \* \* a---, because you'd have to take a three year course in spelling to know what an a-- is and three more years to be taught where it's located.

"Julius Lester called the BPP the vanguard (that's leader) organization so international where Cleaver calls him racist, now when full allegiance is not given to the Panthers, again racist. What the hell do you want? Are you getting this? Are you lost? If you're not digging then you're really hopeless.

"Oh yes! We are not concerned about Hilliard's threats.

"Brains will win over brawn. The way the Panthers have retaliated against US is another indication. The score: US - 6  
Panthers - 0

"Why, I read an article in the Panther paper where a California Panther sat in his car and watched his friend get shot by Karenga's group and what did he do? He run back and write a full page story about how tough the Panthers are and what they're going to do. Ha Ha - B---- S----.

"Goodbye [REDACTED] - and watch out. Karenga's coming.

"'Right On' as they say."

No signature will be given.

F B I

Date: 8/22/69

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

**AIRTEL**

Via

(Priority)

Mr. DeLoach  
 Mr. Mohr  
 Mr. Bishop  
 Mr. Casper  
 Mr. Callahan  
 Mr. Conrad  
 Mr. Felt  
 Mr. Gale  
 Mr. Green  
 Mr. Sullivan  
 Mr. Tavel  
 Mr. Trotter  
 Tele. Room  
 Mrs. Holmes  
 Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-47757)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
BUDED 8/29/69

ReBuairtel to Chicago and other offices, dated 8/21/69.

The following plans are submitted for Bureau's and other offices' consideration.

The first plan is more limited in scope and is based on the assumption that it makes no difference whether the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) meets the Black United Front's (BUF) demands or not, and on the fact that the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) has already agreed to lend its support to the NMC without any conditions attached. The NWRO is essentially a Black organization of welfare recipients. It would seem sufficient to arrange for the NWRO to receive copies of the actual BUF demands upon the NMC, either anonymously or otherwise, to start NWRO people to thinking, "Why should we poor assist the NMC for nothing when the 'fat cats' at BUF are getting paid for the promise of their support?" Logically, the NWRO should come to the conclusion

3-Bureau 910  
(1-100-448006)1-Chicago (RM)  
1-Cleveland (RM)  
1-Detroit (RM)  
1-Los Angeles (RM)(AM)  
1-New York (RM)  
1-Philadelphia (RM)  
1-San Francisco (RM)(AM)3-WFO  
(1-100-49753)  
(1-157-1292)PHW:cjb  
(13)REC-24  
Q. 11

SLIP 100

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Approved: J. E. D. Harris Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M. Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

that it should make similar demands on the NMC on condition that if its demands are not met, it will withdraw its support. Even if the NWRO does not reach this conclusion, it is certain that many of its members will be resentful of BUF and the NMC. On the other hand, BUF should resent the NWRO demanding its share of the "loot". This could also alienate other Black groups who may be planning to support the NMC.

The NMC will be placed in the untenable position of either meeting the demands, which would obviously weaken the organization financially and otherwise, or if it refuses, lose the Black support which it seeks. It is conceivable that the resulting situation might force the NMC to cancel its mass rally on Washington, D. C., 11/15/69.

In order to implement the foregoing, WFO would utilize sources and other means to agitate within the BUF, insisting its demands are reasonable and due the Black community; therefore, the NMC must meet them. Within NWRO, it would be argued that "we" poor people need help much more so than does BUF; that the NMC must help us, too, if it wants our support.

Field offices having NMC representation would utilize their sources in splitting the NMC. Some sources would be directed to argue that to meet the demands is "pure extortion". Others should take the position that it is the duty of white liberals everywhere to support the needs of the Black community, that this is one of the paramount goals of liberals, to fight for the eradication of racism, ghettos, poverty and inequalities between Blacks and whites, wherever they exist. Through mutual respect and cooperation, both can be more effective in their struggles against The Establishment.

This division of opinion should create serious schisms within the NMC Steering Committee and between the organizations which it represents.

WFO 100-47757

The second plan contemplates that the NMC will meet in part, at least, the BUF demands, and would not preclude execution of the first.

WFO contemplates the enlistment by the Bureau of a friendly syndicated columnist who would be fed sufficient material and leads with which he could write a special feature "expose" of the "blackmail" of the NMC by the Black militants. Even if the NMC refuses to meet any part of the demands, it would seem that a newsworthy story could be written concerning the attempted "extortion".

Assuming that the "expose" is written and picked up on one of the wire services, it would serve the purpose of alerting Black militant groups in other cities to the possibility of milking white liberals in their community. For example, the Black Panthers in Chicago might get the idea that they could demand and get money for their support of the October 11, 1969, demonstrations in connection with the conspiracy trials. This could be repeated in other areas such as New York, Los Angeles, et cetera. The resulting bickering, resentment and distrust could be fomented by sources with the hope that the New Left and the Blacks become so ineffective they will be devoting all their time and energy defending themselves. At the very least, it should turn around the tendency for groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Panthers to unite for common goals.

F B I

Date: 9/9/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO) - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau airtel, 9/8/69.

D2 [REDACTED] a highly placed informant in the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) and [REDACTED] a highly placed Black Panther Party (BPP) informant, have been previously alerted to the possible rift developing between the BPP and SDS. They are now being instructed to take reasonable actions to help keep this dispute in the forefront and prevent their possible reconciliation. They will be cautioned to use care to avoid compromising their position by this activity.

[REDACTED] The above informants as well as [REDACTED], and [REDACTED] have indicated that the rift in the Chicago area between the BPP and SDS National leadership is deep and extends to basic issues, as well as the BPP sponsored circulation of a petition concerning community control of the police.

Chicago sources have been alerted for any further developments in this area, and the Bureau will be kept advised. Chicago will submit further recommendations for counter intelligence action as appropriate.

1 100 9-0  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
RHW:jm Class  
(3)

REC-139

10 SEP 11 1969

SI-113

6030  
3/26/77 [Signature]

INT. SEC.

Approved: [Signature] Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
NEW LEFT

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan

DATE: 9/5/69

1 - Mr. G.C. Moore  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

1

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

This memorandum recommends approval for distribution under the Mass Media Program of a blind memorandum revealing evidence of the growing dissatisfaction of militant blacks with the New Left.

At a recent conference of the United Front Against Fascism held in Oakland, Calif., and sponsored by the Black Panther Party (BPP), one of the resolutions adopted was that a petition for community control of police departments should be circulated in the black, brown and white communities. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) has balked at the idea of white community control of its police force. This has resulted in vitriolic attacks on SDS by leaders of the BPP and SDS has ineffectively explained its position.

Previous information has also been developed that the New Mobilization Committee (NMC), which under the name of the National Mobilization Committee sponsored demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention and the Presidential inauguration, has made plans for a demonstration in Washington, D. C., on 11/15/69 to protest the war. The Black United Front (BUF) in Washington, D. C., has demanded of this group \$25,000 in order to receive its support.

In order to further split the black militants from the New Left, it appears that should this information be publicized it will create dissension within both the New Left and black militant groups. A blind memorandum setting forth this information has been prepared which could be used by a nationally syndicated columnist to focus attention on this developing situation.

REC-73

## RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum be approved and forwarded to the Crime Records Division for use in the Mass Media Program.

Enclosure 100-449698

URHH:jes  
(8)

EP 181969

## The Widening Rift

Washington, D. C., for this demonstration as a price for its support of the demonstration. It later modified this demand to ask for a flat \$25,000 for its support. This demand poses a real problem for NMC since that organization is still in debt from the demonstrations it has sponsored in the past. It also poses tricky ideological problems. Some Committee leaders feel this is out-and-out extortion by the blacks and that it should not be paid. Others feel that the funds should be paid if possible, but the question then arises what about other Negro organizations which might be even more deserving of the funds than BUF. For instance, such an organization as the National Welfare Rights Organization, which is composed of black welfare recipients, might have a better claim to these funds. It also poses other interesting possibilities which the New Leftists are not anxious to face. That is, will this be a recurring demand which can be expected in the future from the blacks. If such is the case, it would become an additional burden for the protest movement. It is obvious that this situation must be handled with kid gloves for if the blacks are alienated, hope for success for any protest movement in Washington, D. C., will be eliminated.

It appears, therefore, that militant blacks are becoming increasingly unwilling to accept the leadership of the white New Left movement, but are ready to strike out on their own to seek objectives which, up to now, have only been secondary in the scheme of things as far as the leftists are concerned.

## THE WIDENING RIFT

From all appearances, the honeymoon between the black militants and the New Leftists is about over.

An indication of this state of affairs is the recent disclosure in "New Left Notes," the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organ, and "The Black Panther," the official publication of the Black Panther Party (BPP), that these two organizations have fallen out over the issue of community control of the police. A decision to call for such control, reached at a recent United Front Against Fascism Conference held in Oakland, California, and sponsored by the BPP, was more of a hurdle than SDS could take. SDS balked at white community control of police. In a subsequent statement by David Hilliard, a BPP official, printed in the Party's newspaper, the rift between these organizations was brought into the open. Hilliard charged SDS with slogan hawking and not being revolutionaries. In the usual gutter vernacular, he berated SDS as nationally chauvinistic and nationally socialistic.

SDS subsequently answered Hilliard (if that is what it could be considered) in a wishy-washy statement printed in its publication, "New Left Notes." In this statement, SDS called the whole thing a misunderstanding based on faulty information about SDS's position. It characterized itself as being dedicated to building a revolutionary youth movement among white youth of the "mother country." This latter statement has not set well with black militants.

More recent evidence of this rift is indicated by demands recently made by the Black United Front (BUF) in Washington, D. C., on the New Mobilization Committee (NMC). This latter group, under the name of National Mobilization Committee, sponsored such demonstrations as those which were held in Washington, D. C., during the inauguration of President Nixon and during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The NMC has been organizing a demonstration which is to be held in the Nation's capital on November 15, 1969, which will protest the war in Vietnam. The BUF first notified NMC that it would demand that NMC pay BUF \$1 per head for each demonstrator coming to

ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. G.C. Moore  
(Route through for review)  
9/8/69

1 - Mr. Shackelford  
1 - Mr. R.H. Horner

airtel

To: SAC, Albany  
Baltimore  
Boston  
Charlotte  
Chicago  
Cleveland  
Denver  
Detroit

Los Angeles  
Milwaukee  
Newark  
New Haven  
New York  
San Francisco  
Seattle  
Portland

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReBuairtel 8/20/69.

The current dispute raging between the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Black Panther Party (BPP) over the issue of a petition campaign for community control of local police offers an excellent opportunity for selected informants to take action that would expand the rift between these two organizations and irrevocably block any possibility of a reconciliation.

Toward this end, recipient offices should select appropriate informants in both SDS and the BPP for use in a program designed to accomplish the above results. The informants chosen should be instructed to seek opportunities MAILED TO keep this dispute in the forefront and to broaden it with other issues as occasions arise. Agents handling these ~~SEED~~ informants should make sure that the informants are well COMM. B versed in the nature of the dispute in order that they may intelligently seize opportunities for action. Of course, the prime consideration in this effort will be the security of

Tolson   
DeLoach   
Mohr   
Bishop   
Hooper   
Callahan   
Conrad   
Felt   
Gale   
Hoover   
Sullivan   
Tavel   
Holmes   
Randy

RHH:jes  
(36)

REC-87

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO SEP 9 1969

54 SEP 18 1969

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to Albany  
COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

those sources chosen to participate. Each source must be carefully instructed and guided so that he will be most circumspect in his statements and actions and will do nothing that will result in his being branded as a disruptionist.

Each office is to consider this matter carefully and promptly advise the Bureau of the identity of those sources which it intends to use in this effort.

NOTE:

Recent information has been received that a dispute has arisen between the SDS and the BPP over SDS's refusal to endorse a nationwide petition campaign for community control of local police departments. This dispute has been publicized in the official organs of these two organizations. It appears that an opportunity exists to widen the breach between these two organizations by careful and considered action by our informants.

F B I

Date: 8/27/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

|              |
|--------------|
| Mr. Tolson   |
| Mr. DeLoach  |
| Mr. Mohr     |
| Mr. Casper   |
| Mr. Callahan |
| Mr. Conrad   |
| Mr. Felt     |
| Mr. Gale     |
| Mr. Rosen    |
| Mr. Sullivan |
| Mr. Tavel    |
| Mr. Trotter  |
| Tel. Room    |
| Miss Holmes  |
| Miss Gandy   |

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-149698)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)  
COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

ReBuairtel 8/20/69.

In view of the statement of DAVID HILLIARD, Black Panther Party (BPP) Chief of Staff, that the BPP will take action against Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) if they make "one more counter-revolutionary statement," it will appear that the most effective approach to destroying the BPP-SDS alliance would be to convince the BPP that SDS is continuing its counter-revolutionary ways.

The 8/23/69 edition of "New Left Notes," carries an article captioned SDS and BPP, which states in part that SDS will decide whether or not to accept BPP demands concerning the circulation of a petition demanding community control of the police, at the National Interim Committee meeting scheduled for Cleveland, Ohio, 8/31-9/1/69.

Informants attending the NIC meeting should be directed to encourage the NIC to maintain its present position, as it was stated in "New Left Notes" on 7/28/69 and again on 8/23/69. If possible, the NIC should be encouraged to refuse to circulate the BPP petition in white neighborhoods.

If this is successful, this can easily be pointed out to the BPP as a counter-revolutionary activity on the part of SDS.

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - Chicago  
 1-157-2393  
 RHW:meb  
 (4)

REC-11

8 SEP 4 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

SEP 11 1969

CG 100-45316

SDS has scheduled a National Action for Chicago from 10/8-11/69, which will consist of a series of demonstrations including a protest of court action against those indicted for violation of the Anti-Riot Laws. One of those indicted is BOBBY SEALE, BPP national chairman. SEALE has directed Chicago BPP to refrain from demonstrations, as he feels that the government has a weak case against him and that demonstrations may hurt his chances in court.

The BPP can be encouraged, on all levels, to view these SDS sponsored demonstrations as an attack on their national leader BOBBY SEALE.

Chicago informants could also be used to encourage the BPP to view SDS as becoming increasingly racist. Nearly all of the current SDS leaders live in a white neighborhood and this, with the allegation that SDS intends to move its National Office out of a predominantly Negro area (not known to be true), can be used as evidence of the SDS racism. SDS has had some difficulty with black children in the area and the SDS reaction to these children would further indict them as racist.

Informants within SDS can encourage SDS to adopt a defensive stance against BPP exploitation. The "Guardian," edition of 8/23/69, on page nine carries an article captioned On the Other Side of the Tracks by JULIUS LESTER which is highly critical of the BPP for their attitude towards SDS and other groups. This article could be reproduced and widely disseminated among SDS and other groups. This should hurt the BPP influence with these groups and cause some embarrassment to the BPP.

The BPP has expressed support for Al-Fatah. SDS informants can be encouraged to accuse the BPP of being anti-Semitic for their support of this group which is attacking Israel.

Chicago will remain alert for any possible counter-intelligence action and submit appropriate recommendations to the Bureau. No counterintelligence action will be taken without prior Bureau authority.

8/21/89

Birte1

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112

To: SAC, Chicago  
Cleveland  
Detroit  
Los Angeles  
New York  
Philadelphia  
San Francisco  
WFO

From: Director, FBI (100-419698)

117 *Psychosomatics*

44-1112-1369

COLLEGE, NEW YORK

COINTELPRO & NEW LEFT  
BUDDED: 8/29/69

The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NNC), which was formerly known as the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, is sponsoring a massive antiwar demonstration at Washington, D. C., 11/15/69. The sponsor hopes to attract 100,000 participants. The Black United Front (BUF) recently demanded that the Committee pay it \$1 per demonstrator. The Front threatened to disrupt the demonstration unless this money was paid. The Reverend Douglas Moore, Chairman of the Front, has now modified this demand to asking for a flat payment of \$25,000, half of which is payable shortly and the other half prior to the demonstration. The Front also is demanding that it have representation on the policy-making body of the Committee and that the Committee support its demand that Washington, D. C., be made the 51st state.

During a recent meeting of the Committee's Steering Committee, most of the Steering Committee were willing to accede to the Front's demand; however, cannot do so as the Committee is in debt \$8,000 for its part in the demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, — — —

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Hip-hop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Randy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 9  
AUG 1 1969  
COMM-FBI

REC 4 19 AUG 22 1969

19 AUG 22 1969

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Airtel to Chicago  
COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

The Washington Field Office has recommended and the Bureau concurs in that recommendation that this is an ideal situation to exploit through the Counterintelligence Program.

Recipient offices are to furnish recommendations for such action to the Bureau by 8/29/69 without fail. Consideration is to be given to utilizing informants in both racial and nonracial protest groups in this matter. It is noted that the nonracial protest groups, particularly the NMC, can be accused of racism in refusing to go along with this demand. At the same time, such groups could be split further by some individuals calling the Front's demands extortion while other individuals in the group support the demands.

All recipient offices have representatives of the NMC in their areas. Sources should be immediately alerted to contact Committee leaders and members of the Steering Committee to determine their attitude to the Front's demands. Bear in mind the possibility of publicizing such attitudes and the possibility of having friendly press representatives interview these individuals on these demands. Take no counterintelligence action without Bureau approval.

NOTE:

The NMC has called for a massive demonstration at Washington, D. C., on 11/15/69. This demonstration may result in confrontation with authorities. The BUF is demanding that it be paid to let this demonstration go on in Washington, D. C. Committee members are upset over these demands and this situation offers an opportunity to divide and to embarrass them. This airtel requests recommendations from the field. This matter has been coordinated with [redacted] who handles cointel for the Racial Intelligence Section.

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1  
1

8/20/69

airtel

To: SAC, Albany  
Baltimore  
Boston  
Charlotte  
Chicago  
Cleveland  
Denver  
Detroit

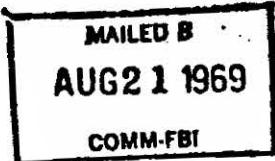
Los Angeles  
Milwaukee  
Newark  
New Haven  
New York  
San Francisco  
Seattle  
Portland

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

In the past, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Black Panther Party (BPP) have been friendly toward each other. There is now a break in this relationship. The "Guardian" dated 8/16/69 carries an article captioned "Panther Leaders Blast SDS." According to the article, BPP Chairman Bobby Seale and Chief of Staff David Hilliard have characterized SDS as a fascist organization.

The basis for the dispute between the BPP and the SDS is SDS's refusal to endorse all aspects of a nationwide petition campaign for community control of local police departments. This campaign was initiated by the BPP and was approved by the United Front Against Fascism Conference which the BPP held in Oakland, California, 7/18-20/69. The petition demands that all communities, black, brown and white, demand control over the police. SDS has balked at the concept of white control over police in white communities on the grounds that this would result in the strengthening of white supremacy. The SDS National Interim Committee passed a resolution criticizing community control for white communities.



SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ST-100  
REC-126

10 AUG 22 1969

0512-1969  
MAILING UNIT TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to Albany  
RE: COINTELPRO, NEW LEFT  
100-449698

Hilliard, during an interview, intimated that SDS was attempting to dictate to the Panthers and characterized SDS as national socialists. This situation obviously offers many opportunities for counterintelligence action to widen the split and to increase the animosity between these groups.

All recipient offices are to submit recommendations for this type of counterintelligence action by 8/27/69. Each office is to consider the use of selected informants, anonymous letters to various members and leaders of each group, and the publicizing of this matter to selected press contacts. Bear in mind that informants in both groups can do much to increase this split and this should be considered in your recommendations.

No counterintelligence action is to be taken without Bureau approval.

NOTE:

SDS has been one of the strongest supporters of the BPP and has called it the vanguard of the revolution. Now, a definite split between the groups has developed and offers the opportunity to further disrupt the relationship between the two groups. This airtel asks for specific recommendations as to how this can be accomplished.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: August 11, 1969

FROM: SAC, Indianapolis (105-5821)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau O-1, 7/30/69; Bureau letter, 5/10/69;  
and Indianapolis letter to the Bureau, 5/20/69.

In referenced Indianapolis letter to the Bureau, 5/20/69, it was pointed out that since the current semester was about to end and little activity was expected during the summer session, the Indianapolis Division is making the following recommendations concerning Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, in relation to the Cointelpro:

No further issues of "Armageddon News" are being recommended at this time. It is felt that the appropriate audience and the need is insufficient at this time. If any of the New Left organizations give indications of reorganizing in the fall of 1969 further recommendations will be made concerning the "Armageddon News" at that time.

It was further pointed out that the New Left situation will be followed closely through appropriate sources and the Bureau will be advised if it is felt that this program should be reinstated at Indiana University.

At this time contacts have been made with [redacted] relative to the possible disruptive situation at Indiana University this fall. During the coming fall semester at Indiana University the New Left situation will be followed closely and appropriate recommendations will be made as to what necessary action be used at that time. If it is felt that the captioned program should be reinstated at Indiana University the Bureau will be advised.

② - Bureau (RM)  
3 - Indianapolis  
(1 - 100-17058) STAG  
(2 - 105-5821)

REC 55

8 AUG 19 1969

REF/peg  
(5)

AUG 20 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

101-4496-98- IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING  
SERIALIZATION.

# 6-219  
8727/69  
1

8-11-69

SAC, New York (100-163303)

REC 27  
Director, FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT EX-102

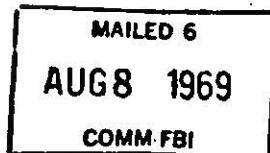
Reurlet 8-5-69.

Authority is granted to prepare and to anonymously mail the leaflet enclosed with relet. Make certain that this leaflet cannot be connected to the Bureau.

BAW:Jmb  
(4)NOTE:

New York Office has prepared a leaflet ridiculing SDS and the New Left Movement, and has requested authority to anonymously mail leaflet to selected individuals and organizations active in the New Left movement and anonymously to educational leaders and certain public officials during the college registration period in September, 1969. This leaflet does ridicule SDS and the New Left Movement and could cause them to lose some prestige through the ridicule.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
McLoch \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_



2000  
70 AUG 18 1969  
TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 8/5/69

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-163303)(P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re New York letter dated 6/4/69 and Bulet dated 6/18/69.

Enclosed herewith are two copies of a suggested leaflet entitled "SDS - The Amerikan Komiks", designed to ridicule SDS and the New Left movement in general. The lay-out is a direct imitation of the cartoon style of [REDACTED] and many other publications. [REDACTED] sympathies for the New Left and his anti-establishment drawings are well known to readers of the liberal and radical movement press.

Enclosed leaflet was written in the jargon of the New Left, necessitating the use of a certain amount of profanity.

Bureau authority is requested to prepare and mail anonymously the enclosed leaflet to selected individuals and organizations active in the New Left movement. Copies will also be sent anonymously to educational leaders, institutions of learning and selected public officials during the college registration period in September - October, 1969.

Referenced New York letter noted that the leaflet containing a poem entitled "SDS" would be anonymously distributed by hand in areas where SDS was most active.

New York considered the anonymous mailing of packs of above leaflet to anti-radical organizations like the Young Americans For Freedom in hopes they would take the initiative and distribute the material by hand in campus areas.

It is felt this plan is not practical and has been eliminated by New York.

The "SDS" poem is now in the process of being mailed. A second mailing of the leaflet is planned after the school registration period.

(2) - Bureau (RM) (Encl. 2) REC 27  
1 - New York

BPM:bpm

(3)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

(Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



1 AUG 1969

10

10

# s.d.s.\* ~ The Amerikan Komiks!

My folks buated  
their humps to  
send me to  
college



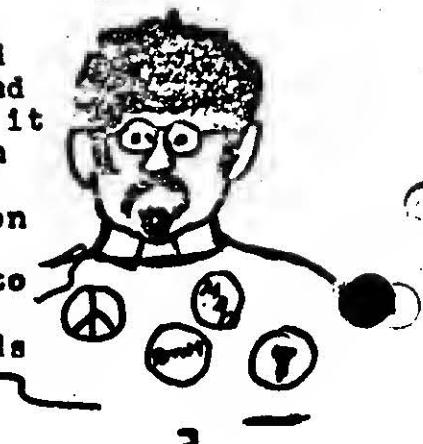
1.

But I took up  
with SDS, the  
Third World and  
Revolution. I  
dug the grass bit  
and balling them  
radical chicks



2.

I blew my mind  
on Mao, Che and  
Marcuse. Man, it  
was revolution  
all over the  
scene. We even  
burnad the  
library, not to  
mention flags  
and draft cards



3.

It wasn't all  
easy, though.  
I got the  
clap from tha  
chicks..and  
last Fall I  
called a TPP  
pig a mother-  
fucker and he  
broke my  
front  
teeth. My  
folks sent  
bread for new  
choppers



4.

In May, I hit a  
capitalist with  
a bottle and the  
bastard broke my  
nose. Our chief  
acid head, Mark  
Rudd, told us to  
snuggla up to our  
black brothers  
so



5.

I went to a Panther  
rally and they broke my  
new teeth and the  
other arm. I got 30  
days for being a bum.  
Well, SDS is dead  
now. The Panthers  
hate our guts and the  
Army won't have me. I  
wonder if the  
folks still live  
in the same old  
place?



6.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

KWJ  
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, SAVANNAH (100-5260) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
IS

DATE: 8/1/69

Re Savannah letter to Bureau, 4/30/69.

1. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

None

2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

None

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

None

4. MISCELLANEOUS

In the absence of any pertinent organized activity within the Savannah Division at this time, no action has been taken; however, the matter will continue to be followed for some logical recommendations to the Bureau.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Savannah  
JHM/fme  
(4)

EX-115

REC 36

TP. SEC.



148  
AUG 12 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 7/30/69

FROM : *D* SAC, San Diego (100-14259)(P)

SUBJECT: *C* OINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Bureau letter to Albany 5/10/68.

## A. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

At the present time there is little New Left activity occurring in San Diego. This is believed to be mainly as a result of the summer vacation period in the school system. Most of the activity in San Diego has been in connection with activities of students and faculty members along with a few other militant young people working against the draft or to help militants such as the Black Panther Party.

It is believed New Left activity will increase with the start of the school year in September. Because of the change in the student body, leaders of the various groups change.

San Diego will be alert to who becomes involved in this type of activity and will prepare counter-intelligence action against these individuals. Bureau authority in each such case will be requested by separate letter.

## B. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

San Diego has no counter-intelligence action pending at the present time because of the summer lull in this activity.

## C. TANGIBLE RESULTS

There have been no tangible results worthy of note since the date of the last quarterly letter. Leaders of the Students For a Democratic Society, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] continue to remain out of San Diego and very little activity has been generated by this group.

(2) - Bureau (AM REGISTERED)  
2 - San Diego  
EMP:emp  
(4)

EX-115

REC 36 3 116 4 100

290  
54 AUG 8 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : *Reft*

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 7/1/69

FROM :

SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to all offices dated 5/10/68,  
and Minneapolis letter to Bureau dated 4/8/69.

## I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

*7/1/69*  
*PK*  
The potential of counterintelligence action within the Minneapolis Division for the next several months will be curtailed considerably in view of the almost complete inactivity on the part of the New Left during the summer months. In previous years there has been almost no New Left activity within this Division during the school summer vacation. There is currently no reason to anticipate any increased activity during the coming summer months.

Anti-war protest activity has in general diminished considerably during the past year. Elements controlling this activity have largely been motivated by forces from the Old Left. There is no reason to anticipate increased activity in this regard.

During the past school year, approximately a dozen Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) chapters have attempted to organize and become operational. As of the closing of the current academic year, only one chapter of the SDS has remained significantly operational, this being the SDS group at the University of Minnesota. It remains to be seen whether or not this group will continue to operate during the summer months.

*100-449698*  
(2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Minneapolis  
WPE:ras  
(4)

REC-78

00 JUL 11 1969

EX-1500



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

It appears that the most significant area of potential under this program is in the realm of preventing the formation of newly proposed political groups, particularly newly formed SDS groups. Such actions as preventing new SDS chapters to be formed, preventing incidents of confrontation, keeping militant leaders from obtaining advantageous positions, and in general, preventing an inflamed climate, appear to present the greatest potential at this time for action under this program.

The Minneapolis Office is also currently attempting to increase informant coverage in order to cope with the normal increase of anticipated New Left activity with the coming fall term of school. It is felt that with additional informant coverage greater opportunities will be presented under this program.

It might be noted that the radical elements within the local area, and specifically at the University of Minnesota, have in the past been quite segregated, largely due to discrepancies in political theory. The Trotskyites continue to dominate on the radical scene and are opposed by almost all other radicalists. The recent split in the SDS at the national convention in Chicago, Illinois, may possibly have impact on the followers of this group in the local scene. The various splits within the radical groupings will be closely scrutinized and every opportunity to use this to advantage under this program will be pursued. A further isolated potential under the program is the possible utilization of a local radio announcer.

HELM has been very adamant in his criticism of these forces, and possibly in a discreet manner, unbeknown to him, he can be lead to information which may be embarrassing and discredit, as well as neutralize, future New Left activity.

## II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

The anonymous letter previously approved by the Bureau, which was forwarded by Minneapolis letter dated 3/24/69, has been mailed to [redacted]

Copies of the "Reader's Digest" article pertaining to the SDS, which article appeared in the October, 1968, issue, are being periodically disseminated to interested and key individuals who are in a position to curtail the developments of new potential SDS activity. As explained subsequently in this letter, it is felt this dissemination can have significant effect in the area of preventative measures.

A separate communication is being forwarded to the Bureau at this time to attempt to discreetly and in an anonymous fashion utilize the services of [REDACTED] in pursuing information of an [REDACTED] nature to the New Left and to bring about publicity of such information.

### III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

It is exceedingly difficult to assess and measure the precise results of preventative measures under this program. It might be noted, however, that the Minneapolis Office previously mailed copies of a "Time" magazine article, as referred to in a letter dated 8/1/68, to officials of the University of Minnesota. These officials likewise have been furnished copies of the October, 1968, "Reader's Digest" article pertaining to the SDS. Among the persons receiving these articles were:

These persons were selected in view of their influential positions, together with the fact that they normally have held liberal and permissive positions relative to New Left activities.

In May, 1969, officers of the SDS group at the University of Minnesota approached the Student Activities

Bureau (SAB) for permission to use the facilities of the University of Minnesota to hold the National SDS Convention in June, 1969. These officials of the SAB did in fact grant this permission, apparently subjected to final approval of higher authorities. President MOOS of the University of Minnesota decided to leave the final decision concerning this matter in the hands of the Board of Regents, which met with other officials of the University concerning this matter. [REDACTED] 670

[REDACTED] attended this meeting with the Board of Regents and adamantly spoke against the utilization of University facilities for the SDS National Convention.

[REDACTED] initially favored the availability of these facilities to the SDS; however, he was overruled by the Board of Regents and other University officials. [REDACTED] confidentially furnished this office with the results of this meeting and specifically stated that he could not understand certain developments at the meeting, specifically the fact that [REDACTED] who has always held a liberal view and has continuously opposed [REDACTED] and the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] over the years, was one of the persons supporting him at the meeting in opposing the SDS. He was also surprised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who has consistently supported [REDACTED] on almost all matters in the past, took a position against him relative to the stand of favoring the SDS.

It is not known to what extent the anonymous mailing of SDS literature may have been effective; however, at the close of the current school year, only one SDS chapter had been operational in the Minnesota - Dakotas area, this being at the University of Minnesota, and this chapter is not known to be affiliated with the national organization.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI. (100-449698)

9<sup>th</sup> JUL -

FROM : SAC, ALEXANDRIA (100-57) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

DATE: 7/14/69

Due to the recent opening of the Alexandria Office  
nothing of significance regarding the above captioned matter  
has been developed for the quarter ending July 15, 1969.  
Additional efforts regarding this matter will be put forth  
in the future.

2 - Bureau  
1 - Alexandria  
W.H.W.  
(3)

10 JUL 17 1969

REC 67.

INT/SEC.

JUL 24 1969



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SAC, WFO (100-17757)

6-12-69

Director, FBI (100-419698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurairtel 6-6-69.

A review of [redacted] file at the Bureau indicates that the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, U. S. Army has been alerted to his activities in the Students for a Democratic Society. As you know, in cases of this nature the military services have specific procedural steps to follow to preclude an individual from active service or to activate him as the situation may warrant. No recommendation, therefore is being made to the Army as to what action should be taken in the case of [redacted].

In order that the Army will have all available information pertaining to [redacted] you should prepare a letterhead memorandum under his caption setting forth all unreported information and including the statement received from [redacted] respecting [redacted] statement concerning teaching at Federal City College this fall.

(1) 100-452946

RHH:mef  
(6)

100-452946  
RECORDED  
201 JUN 13 1969

NOTE:

By reairtel WFO pointed out that [redacted] last year and now is currently on the security index, has received commission following completion of ROTC training at Claremont College, Claremont, California. He had subsequently received an extended delay from call to active duty in order to attend the American University. WFO reported that an informant had stated that [redacted] intends to teach school this fall at Federal City College and feels that he has precluded being called to active duty as a result of writing a letter to Army in which he praised Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, and Cuba. WFO suggested this information be brought to the attention of Army so that [redacted] could be called to active duty and thereby frustrate his attempt to avoid military service. Since Army will have all information available on [redacted] we should make no recommendations in this regard.

51JUN161969 07C

SAC, WFO (100-47992)

6/3/89

Director, FBI (100-452984)

6M - 6TP

Reurlet 5/23/69 and enclosure thereto.

Authority is granted to prepare and anonymously  
mail the letter submitted as an enclosure to relet to the

In preparing and mailing this letter, you are to take all steps necessary to protect the identity of the Bureau as the source.

Promptly advise the Bureau of any results noted.

1- 100-449698

RHM:jes  
(6)

**NOTE :**

The subject is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). She is a schoolteacher in the [redacted]. In addition to being a member of the [redacted]

\_\_\_\_\_ advised that it has no  
sources on the \_\_\_\_\_ of sufficient reliability  
to whom it could furnish this information. By relet, it was  
suggested that the previous letter be submitted to

apprising him of the situation respecting

NOT REVEALED  
170 JUN 4 1969

## DUPLICATE YELLOW

54 JUN 9 - 1969

SAC, WFO (100-47992)

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
5/7/69

Director, FBI (100-452984)

SH - SWP

ReBulet 4/11/69 and your letter 4/23/69.

The Bureau concurs with your observations as set forth in your letter dated 4/23/69.

Provided the security of your informant is insured, you are authorized to prepare an anonymous letter purportedly from a neighbor and containing the information set forth in referenced letter.

Assure that all necessary steps are taken to protect the identity of the Bureau as the source of this letter.

Submit a copy of your letter to the Bureau for approval.

1 - 100-449698

BHM:jes  
(6)

NOTE:

1.75  
At the time of the letter, the young woman attended one of the YWCA, and was educational and regional conferences of that organization. By referenced WFOlet, that office stated it did not appear advisable to anonymously advise her parents of these facts since her mother apparently already knew of her membership in the YSA. It was also stated that since there are no sources available on the Board of Education to whom this information could be safely reported, this information could be most effectively used by submitting an anonymous letter to the Board of Education purportedly from a neighbor. Since this information must be placed with the Board of Education, we are authorizing the anonymous letter be prepared.

27 MAY 1969  
DUPLICATE YELLOW  
1309

4 Y161369

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

100-449698-852, 853, 854, 855  
856, 857, 858

**CHANGED TO**

100-449698 Sub 15-22

" " 12-10

" " 43-16

" " 26-NK 4/11/69

" " 53-32

" " 28-8

" " 18-11

APR 23 1969

Emy/PGP

851 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING  
SERIALIZATION.

APR 16 1969

H. C. K.  
1000

## **Group at Columbia Fighting Disruption**

A group of student leaders at Columbia University is organizing a campaign to "preserve academic freedom" and "head off disruptions" on the Morningside Heights campus this spring.

In an advertisement sched-  
uled to appear in today's Co-  
lumbia Daily Spectator, the  
group endorsed a statement by  
100 senior faculty members is-  
sued on March 10 saying that  
"attempts to disrupt or prevent  
the holding of classes are a  
matter of urgent concern."

More than 75 students signed the advertisement. Among them are class officers, leaders of extracurricular activities, captains of several athletic teams and members of several university reform groups, such as Students for a Restructured University.

"Our various views of last spring's events and current campus issues notwithstanding," the advertisement notes, "we are united in our opposition to any disruption of the academic life at Columbia this year."

The students are asking their classmates to join them in signing the statement. They hope to collect 1,000 more names for another advertisement next Monday.

"We are not trying to form any narrow anti-demonstration group, but rather we hope to focus student attention on the potential dangers disruptions have in store for all of us," said Jeff Fowley, president of the sophomore class.

Richard Menaker, who was recently named a Rhodes Scholar, said "We are the invisible mass trying to become visible."

### S.D.S. Plans 'Offensive'

Radical students at Columbia, led by the Students for a Democratic Society chapter, are planning a "spring offensive" that may include a call for a strike of classes within the next few weeks.

The group of students leaders hopes that if it can show that a sizable percentage of the student body strongly opposes any further disruptions at Columbia, S.D.S. might hesitate to provoke any.

Another point of view about the March 10 faculty statement was expressed last week in an editorial in *The Columbia Spectator* entitled "out of Proportion."

"It is a sad commentary on the state of the university that the only thing which is capable of exciting large numbers of faculty members to action is an infringement of a few minutes of their precious class time," the editorial said.

The statement said that "politics, political action and occasional disruptions are here to stay on Morningside Heights."

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach   
Mohr   
Bishop   
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale   
Rosen   
Sullivan   
Tavel   
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The Washington Post  
Times Herald

The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
 Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date MAR 17 1969

66 MAR 28 1954

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: FEB 14 1969

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-44140)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY  
IS - SDS; SEDITION

Enclosed for the Bureau and recipient offices are a suitable number of copies as designated below of a petition captioned "Solidarity with the Mexican Students."

This petition was circulated at that National Council meeting of the SDS held in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in the latter part of December, 1968.

It was contrived by [REDACTED] for the purpose of obtaining names and addresses of individuals in attendance at the above National Council meeting.

Some of these names are partially illegible and the names indicated in the copy count are WFOs interpretation of what appears on the list.

The Bureau may wish to inform offices with SDS groups in their territory of this technique to obtain not only handwriting specimens but names of individuals attending SDS meetings such as above.

LEAD

RECIPIENT OFFICES

Attempt to identify individuals contained in the list and conduct any investigation they deem necessary.

(3) - Bureau (Enc. 3)  
(1 - 100-449698) (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT)

5 - WFO  
(1 - 100- [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-43107) [REDACTED] (COINTELPRO)  
[REDACTED]

8 (1) JTG:stb (CC: [REDACTED] 2)  
(93)

86 APR 17 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: NARCOTICS VIOLATIONS ON THE PART  
OF NEW LEFT ACTIVISTS

[REDACTED] should be allowed to testify as he furnished the original information on which the search warrant was based. As the informant is unavailable, [REDACTED] is the nearest person available to testify. His testimony will not identify the original source.

We are following this trial closely, and you will be advised of the results.

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Callahan  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

January 29, 1969

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

**C** NARCOTICS VIOLATIONS ON THE PART  
OF NEW LEFT ACTIVISTS

**SYNOPSIS:**

This memorandum advises of the arrest of New Left activists for the illegal possession of narcotics.

In July, 1968, an informant who furnishes information regarding the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), a group which sympathizes with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), reported to [REDACTED] of the Little Rock Division that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had in her possession 40 ounces of marijuana which she kept in her apartment. [REDACTED] furnished an affidavit containing this information to the police department. As a consequence, a search warrant was obtained by local authorities. Forty-four ounces of marijuana were recovered from the apartment and [REDACTED]; [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] officers of SSOC, were

[REDACTED] arrested at [REDACTED] apartment. Trial of the case is scheduled for 1/30/69 in Circuit Court, Little Rock, and [REDACTED] has been subpoenaed to testify to information in his affidavit. U.S. Attorney, Little Rock, advised he will have assistant in court in event defense counsel or judge directs to answer questions beyond his authority.

[REDACTED] should be allowed to testify as he furnished the original information on which the search warrant was based. As the informant is unavailable, [REDACTED] is the nearest person available to testify. His testimony will not identify the original source.

We are following this matter closely.

**ACTION:**

None. For information.

100-14477-1  
NOT RECORDED

167 FEB 12 1969

1 100-449698 (Counterintelligence Program)

RHII:jee/pab (S)

MR. DELOACH

61 FEB 14 1969

DETAILS - Page 2

213

Memo to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: NARCOTICS VIOLATIONS ON THE PART  
OF NEW LEFT ACTIVISTS

DETAILS:

This memorandum advises of the arrest of New Left activists for the illegal possession of narcotics.

In July, 1968, [REDACTED] an informant who furnishes information regarding the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), a group which sympathizes with and follows the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) line, reported to [REDACTED] of the Little Rock division that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was in possession of 40 ounces of marijuana which she kept in her apartment. [REDACTED] also reported that [REDACTED] an anti-war activist in Little Rock and a student at Columbia University, had brought LSD and marijuana to Little Rock and had placed the marijuana in [REDACTED] apartment. Based upon this information, [REDACTED] furnished the Little Rock Police Department (LRPD) with an affidavit with which the LRPD obtained a search warrant for [REDACTED] apartment. On 7/9/69, the police department searched this apartment and arrested [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] as well as [REDACTED] all officers of SSOC, who were located in the apartment. Forty-four ounces of marijuana were located in the apartment. This is reportedly the largest amount of marijuana ever recovered in the State of Arkansas.

On 1/24/69, a subpoena was issued for [REDACTED] to appear in the First Division Circuit Court, Pulaski County, Little Rock, at 9 a.m., 1/30/69, to testify as to the information in affidavit he had previously furnished. The Assistant Prosecuting Attorney stated [REDACTED] will be required to testify only to the information contained in the affidavit. U.S. Attorney W. H. Dillahunt, Little Rock, has advised that he saw no circumstances which would preclude [REDACTED] from testifying and he will make one of his [REDACTED] available in court in the event defense counsel or the judge directs [REDACTED] to answer questions not within his authority. [REDACTED] to testify in this matter inasmuch as the [REDACTED] was based on information obtained from one of our informants.

62  
DETAILS CONTINUED - OVER

100-449698-*5/16* CHANGED TO

100-449698 SUB 45-53

|    |     |    |       |
|----|-----|----|-------|
| .. | 841 | .. | 31-21 |
| .. | 842 | .. | 66-6  |
| .. | 843 | .. | 9-39  |
| .. | 844 | .. | 26-37 |
| .. | 845 | .. | 44-7  |
| .. | 846 | .. | 37-13 |
| .. | 847 | .. | 53-14 |
| .. | 848 | .. | 28-6  |
| .. | 849 | .. | 62-11 |
| .. | 850 | .. | 45-55 |

APR 23 1969

Time | Q&P

100-449698- 827 CHANGED TO

.. 828

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6000 (P.Y.P)

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APR 22 1969

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APR 22 1969  
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100-449698-498, 499, 510, 511

**CHANGED TO**

100-449698 SUB 34-35

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APR 22 1969

E-my/ (D.G.P)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/7/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Fitzgerald \_\_\_\_\_  
Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

To recommend an airtel to all offices instructing that when information is developed that students have been arrested during antiwar demonstrations or have participated in obscene activities during these demonstrations this information be brought to the attention of their parents anonymously. Prior Bureau approval for mailings must be obtained.

We have previously instructed all offices to initiate a program designed to disrupt and neutralize the New Left. A part of this program was to develop evidence of immorality and the use of obscenities by New Left groups and to use it appropriately to frustrate them in seeking their goals.

Recently there has been evidence of students being arrested during demonstrations, and appearing in public demonstrations with obscene inscriptions either written on their persons or on placards. This information can be used to advantage as a neutralizing factor against the New Left if it can be brought to the attention of the student's parents and school officials. By mailing anonymous letters containing this information, the activities of some of these students may be restricted thus depriving the New Left of some of its force.

An airtel to all offices is attached which instructs that added attention be given to this phase of the program and that appropriate action be taken when these incidents occur.

### RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel to all offices be approved and forwarded to the Mechanical Section for reproduction.

100-449698

Enclosure - Sent 10-8-68

✓ REC-7

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. ██████████

RRH:JMS

(6)

100-449698

PSN

10/9/68

airtel

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Albany  
From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBullets 5/10/68 and 5/23/68.

The above communications advised of the necessity of taking immediate action to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the New Left. As a part of this program, you were instructed to remain alert for and to seek specific data depicting the depraved nature and moral looseness of the New Left. You were further instructed to consider ways to use this material in a vigorous and enthusiastic approach to neutralizing them.

Despite these instructions and in the face of mounting evidence of their moral depravity, little evidence has reached the Bureau to indicate field offices are using this information to best advantage.

To make this program more effective in this regard, each office is instructed to be particularly alert for this type of data. Where a student is arrested during a demonstration or his participation in a demonstration is accompanied by the use of or engagement in an obscene display, this information is to be promptly incorporated into an anonymous letter which can be directed to his parents. Where a photograph or other evidence is available to substantiate information in the letter, it should be made a part of the mailing. You should also search for additional ways to bring the student's activities

2 - All Offices

RHH:jms  
(126)

COPIES DESTROYED

842 JUN 3 1968

59 (24) 1000  RETYPING UNIT

EX 110

REC 139

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO OCT 11 1968

Airtel to Albany  
Counterintelligence Program  
100-449698

to the attention of his parents. When appropriate, ways should be developed to also get this information into the hands of school authorities and the local press. In this regard you should consider giving the press anonymous advance information concerning planned activity which might be immoral or obscene in nature. Of course all mailings under this program are to receive prior Bureau authority.

It is not the objective of this letter to restrict this program to the above suggested activities. The foregoing is intended to draw your attention to one phase which can be used to our advantage in neutralizing the New Left.

As the current school year commences, it can be expected that the New Left with its antiwar and anti-draft entourage will make every effort to confront college authorities, stifle military recruiting, and frustrate the Selective Service System. Each office will be expected, therefore, to afford this program continuous effective attention in order that no opportunity will be missed to destroy this insidious movement.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan captioned as above, dated 10/7/68, prepared by RHM:jms.

100-449698- 481 CHANGED TO

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APR 22 1969

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APR 22 1969

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APR 22 1969

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100-4496-98-447  
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100-4496-98 SUB 5-7

APR 22 1969

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100-449698-427

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APR 22 1969

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APR 22 1969

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APR 22 1969

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9/3/68

CODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

SENT BY TELETYPE

TO SACS BALTIMORE (100-25001)  
BUFFALO (100-19652)  
CHARLOTTE (100-10483)  
CHICAGO (100-45316)  
CINCINNATI (100-17601)  
CLEVELAND (100-28895)  
DENVER (100-9553)  
JACKSON (100-1166)  
KANSAS CITY (100-12478)  
LOS ANGELES (100-71737)  
MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155)  
NEW YORK (100-163303)  
PHILADELPHIA (100-49929)  
SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)  
WFO (100-47757)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT.

IN VIEW OF RECENT ACCUSATIONS AGAINST CHICAGO AUTHORITIES  
RELATING TO THEIR HANDLING OF DEMONSTRATORS AT THE DEMOCRATIC  
NATIONAL CONVENTION, THE BUREAU DESIRES TO COLLECT ALL  
POSSIBLE INFORMATION REGARDING PROVOCATIONS OF POLICE BY  
DEMONSTRATORS AND THE REACTION OF POLICE THERETO. RECIPIENT  
OFFICES IMMEDIATELY DEBRIEF SOURCES WHO COVERED DEMONSTRATIONS  
AT THE CONVENTION TO OBTAIN ALL INFORMATION WHICH WOULD BEAR  
ON THESE ACTIVITIES. INCLUDE IN DEBRIEFING, ALL INFORMATION

INDICATING INCIDENTS WERE STAGED TO SHOW POLICE REACTED WITH

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
(A) U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 8 1968

TELETYPE

SEP 10 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

VIA TELETYPE  
6-31-1968  
SEP 3 1968  
ENCIPHERED

REC 5/100-10768-  
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TELETYPE TO SAC BALTIMORE, ET AL  
COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

UNDUE FORCE AND ANY INFORMATION THAT AUTHORITIES WERE BAITED  
BY MILITANTS INTO USING FORCE. ALSO OBTAIN ANY EVIDENCE OF  
POSSIBLE VIOLATIONS OF ANTIRIOT LAWS. IDENTIFY LEADERS OF ALL  
AGITATIONAL ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED BY THEM.  
CITE ALL INSTANCES WHERE ORGANIZATIONS OR INDIVIDUALS  
DISTRIBUTED INFLAMMATORY INFORMATION OR LITERATURE.

SUTEL BY CLOSE OF BUSINESS SEPTEMBER FOUR NEXT.

NOTE:

During the Convention, news media made a great deal  
concerning police reaction to the behavior of demonstrators.  
We authorized recipient offices, exclusive of Chicago, to send  
32 informants to Chicago to cover demonstrations at this  
Convention. These sources should have considerable information  
relating to the activities of demonstrators in confronting the  
police reaction to the demonstrators, and information which  
may constitute violations of recently enacted antiriot laws.  
These sources are being debriefed expeditiously in order that  
we might prepare an informative paper on this subject.

Teletype used in view of urgent need of this  
information.

100-449698-360, 361, 362, 363,  
364, 365, 366, 367

**CHANGED TO**

100-449698 SUB 13-7

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APR 22 1968

Engr/ P.Y.C.

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APR 21 1969

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## *Memorandum*

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan ✓

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Bishop

DATE: 8/15/68

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.P. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

1. Teacher  
2. Post-Loans  
3. Unhurt  
4. Bill of Lading  
5. Carabin  
6. Callahan  
7. Concord  
8. Felt  
9. Gale  
10. Raven  
11. Belleville   
12. Travel  
13. Trotter  
14. Tels. Room  
15. Hohoes  
16. Candy

It was previously reported that the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMCEWV) is sponsoring massive demonstrations at Chicago, Illinois, during the forthcoming Democratic National Convention.

One of the problems faced by the Committee is that of finding housing for the demonstrators who are coming from outside the Chicago area. The Committee has now circulated 25,000 forms requesting the recipients to indicate the number of out-of-town demonstrators they can house. Our Chicago Office has obtained a blank copy of the form and desires to duplicate 250 copies of it, fill them in with fictitious names and addresses, and return them to the Committee's office. This action would cause considerable confusion among the demonstrators and would hamper the Committee's efforts to house the demonstrators.

This can be done with no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau and it is felt that Chicago should be authorized to undertake this counterintelligence action. Due to the time element involved, there is enclosed a teletype to the Chicago Office authorizing this action.

**RECOMMENDATION:**

That the enclosed teletype be approved.

Enclosure ~~last~~ 8-15-68

100-449698

1 - 157-8589 (Democratic National Convention.)

BAW:jes  
(8)

57 AUG 23 1963

100-449698- 814

CHANGED TO

100-449698 SUB 45-43

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APR 23 1969

EMR DGP

SAC, Seattle (100-29237)

9/10/69

REC-138 Ex-104

Director, FBI (100-449608) - [REDACTED]

1 [REDACTED]

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReSKElet 8/25/69.

Authority to mail [REDACTED] copy of the "Minutemen" leaflet furnished as enclosure to relet is denied.

As [REDACTED] is already concerned for his safety, which he appears to feel has been threatened by the "far right," it does not appear that the mailing would serve any useful purpose.

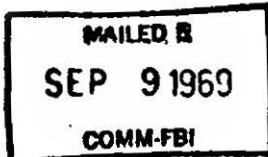
RHH:jes

(4)

NOTE:

[REDACTED] is a key activist in the Seattle Office. He has received anonymous calls threatening his life and feels that the "far right" is threatening him. Seattle suggests the anonymous mailing to [REDACTED] of a "Minutemen" leaflet which consists of a telescopic cross hair design and an inscription inferring that the recipient is not a patriot and will be shot.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Hosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Sandy \_\_\_\_\_



0 SEP 1 1969 B.M.T.  
MAIN ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 8/25/69

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (100-29237) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Seattle letter, 7/7/69.

## POTENTIAL COINTELPRO ACTION AGAINST

(KEY ACTIVIST-SEATTLE)

BUREAU 100-451605

SEfile 100-28870

### A. Background

[REDACTED] has been designated a Key Activist because of SDS activities during the past two scholastic years. He was suspended from the University of Washington for two quarters beginning in April, 1969, but is expected to return as a graduate student at the beginning of the 1969-70 school year. At this time he is considered the most active "New Left" leader in the Seattle Division and to neutralize or curtail his activities would greatly benefit the Bureau.

A PSI of the Seattle Division advised on August 21, 1969, that [REDACTED] claims to have received two phone calls on August 17, 1969, in which an anonymous caller threatened his life if he or his group participated in further street demonstrations which erupted in Seattle's University Business District on August 15-16/1969. PSI claims that [REDACTED] was very concerned about these calls and he and his "commune" decided to stay in the house until the University District demonstrations subsided. The PSI reports that [REDACTED] attributes these calls to the "far right" and appeared genuinely concerned for his safety.

### B. Cointelpro Operation

Bureau permission is requested to mail a copy of the attached "Minutemen" leaflet to [REDACTED] The Seattle

3 - Bureau (REG)  
(1 - 100-451605)  
4 - Seattle  
(2 - 100-29237)  
(1 - 100-28870)  
(1 - 134-1434)

WHW:cmh

(7)

REC 1

10 AUG 21 1969

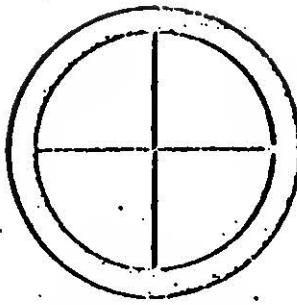
REC.

Division, through informants, will be able to monitor STERN's reaction to this material and should, thereafter, be able to determine if further harassment of this type would be effective in neutralizing [redacted] and his followers.

[redacted] residence is believed to be a gathering place and mail drop for "New Left" activists all over the Pacific Northwest. PSI claims that approximately 20 young "Hippie types" reside in this "commune" and in another residence across the street from [redacted] residence.

The attached Minutemen leaflet has actually been directed to CP members in the past by the Minutemen organization in the State of Washington. Recent arrests by the Seattle Division, of the Minutemen who were convicted of conspiracy to rob local banks, has publicized the existence of this group in the State of Washington.

This leaflet will be mailed in such a manner as to prevent disclosure of the source. Further activity will be dependent on [redacted] reaction to this mailing, and the Bureau will be kept advised of all aspects of this operation.



#### TRAITORS BEWARE

See the old man at the corner where you buy your papers? He may have a silencer equipped pistol under his coat. That extra fountain pen in the pocket of the insurance salesman who calls on you might be a cyanide gas gun. What about your milk man? Arsenic works slow but sure. Your auto mechanic may stay up nights studying booby traps. These patriots are not going to let you take their freedom away from them. They have learned the silent knife, the strangler's cord, the target rifle that hits sparrows at 200 yards. Traitors beware. Even now the curse hangs over on the back of your neck.

MINUTEMEN

100-449698-

(801)

CHANGED TO

100-449698 SUB

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APR 23 1969

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(C)

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100-449698 SUB

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APR 23 1969

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APR 23 1969

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APR 23 1969

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APR 23 1969

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APR 23 1969

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APR 23 1969

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APR 23 1969

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APR 22 1969

ENR/ Q&GP

J

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 11/5/68

FROM : R. L. Shackelford

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
[REDACTED]

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
SUGGESTED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

PURPOSE:

To suggest a conference of university administrators to educate them to the threat of institutions of higher learning becoming an untouchable power base for student revolutionaries.

BACKGROUND:

A review of voluminous New Left correspondence, clippings and articles raises a serious question concerning the long-range plans of the New Left movement. Whether by stratagem or circumstance, it appears the New Left is gravitated toward establishing a power base within the structure of higher education. It is well established the basic ideological difference between the New Left and Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) rests on this point. The CPUSA believes revolution must come from the laboring class, the New Left believes from the intelligentsia.

The Latin American version of universities being corrupted into power bases of revolution is well known. The evolution of their universities as sacrosanct places, off limits to their governments, is a pattern we cannot afford to stand by and see followed here.

The attached clipping refers to comments of Maurice B. Mitchell, Chancellor, University of Denver, wherein he states the view that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is trying to use universities as a springboard to attack American society as a whole.

It is worthwhile to note the present objectives of SDS. They have fought constantly with school administrators to control their ability to discipline students, set curriculum and approve faculty staffing; and each capitulation to SDS strengthens their encroachment into administrative functions, i.e. control of institutions.

REC-32

RECOMMENDATION:

That consideration be given by Mr. Sullivan to sounding out appropriate contacts of his in the universities to set up a conference or conferences of administrators to be used as a format to spell out to them the extent and nature of the threat to higher education posed by the New Left movement and the resulting threat to our Nation.

Enclosure

LS: JCC (4)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NOV 5 1968

INT. 9/10

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Mitchell Hits 'Aim' of SDS

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is trying to use universities as a springboard from which to attack American society as a whole, Chancellor Maurice B. Mitchell of the University of Denver said Tuesday.

Mitchell addressed the university's fourth annual Corporate Executive Conference for Denver area business and professional men.

He said his administration never would tolerate interference by SDS or anyone in the operation of the university.

The DU student body of nearly 9,000 this year is the best the school ever has had, superbly prepared to take advantage of the best kind of education and move into positions of leadership, Mitchell said.

But among them is a small component of a strange new kind of human, highly activist, many of whom find a morbid satisfaction in destroying physical facilities, he added.

#### INCENDIARY FACTS

A pamphlet he said SDS had circulated, entitled "Sabotage," tells how to start fires and prepare explosives from easily available materials.

SDS members use language "unbelievably shocking," and in this and other ways try the patience of faculty members, Mitchell said.

He reported they are also forming groups in the high schools.

"The SDS appears to value confrontation for its own sake," Mitchell said. "They hope to produce martyrdom — or, failing that, a noisy, bloody, smoky destruction of facilities to show their power."

He said the DU chapter of SDS, as a new campus group, is operating under provisional approval of the student senate.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Cooper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tandy  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

2 Denver Post  
Denver, Colorado

Date: 10-23-68

Edition: Home

Author:

Editor: Palmer Hoyt

Title: STUDENTS FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Character:

or

Classification: 100-2068  
Submitting Office: DENVER

Being Investigated

APPEAR 'CHASTENED'

He said its members appeared "chastened" this fall after 39 students, including some SDS members, were suspended from DU after last spring's sit-in.

Mitchell said he gave SDS permission to hold its state meeting at DU because he believes it is much better to keep its members in the open where they can be watched.

Had he refused permission, he said, it would have been an admission that DU was scared.

But he said he is prepared to deal summarily with them if they attempt to obstruct the operation of the university in any way.

Actually, he said he regards their presence as an affront to the university.

For this and other reasons, Mitchell observed, the exodus of university administrators throughout the country is the largest ever and 60 top jobs are going begging.

DU has a capacity of 8,000 students but enrolled 8,680 last year and 8,924 this year.

\$498 AVERAGE DEFICIT

With the current tuition rate at \$1,680 a year, the university is spending \$498 more than that amount on each student each year.

If present trends continue, in 10 years tuition will be \$3,100 a year and DU will be spending \$1,000 more than that on each student, Mitchell predicted.

If that burden can't be met, Mitchell said, the university will have to be surrendered to the taxpayers.

He believes the private university, free from political pressure, is an essential ingredient of American education.

But the community will have to make the decision, he said.

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.. 7-NR 11/1/68  
.. 43-11

APR 22 1969

EWW/PSG(J)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/24/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Bellman \_\_\_\_\_  
Sebel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Phoenix requested authority to furnish copies of three letterhead memoranda regarding security-type cases to Arizona Highway Patrol (AHP) as a counterintelligence measure against the New Left. We do not agree.

Two of the letterhead memoranda concern the efforts of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) to appear on the Arizona Ballot in the coming elections. They contain names of SWP and PFP electors, some of whom are employed by state universities. The [REDACTED] has expressed an interest in these individuals. The third memorandum concerns [REDACTED] who appeared in Phoenix while on national speaking tour under the auspices of the Young Socialist Alliance. While in Phoenix, she was escorted by one of the individuals in whom the [REDACTED] has expressed an interest. As a counterintelligence proposal, Phoenix requested authority to furnish copies of the above memoranda to its contact in the AHP who would in turn make them available to the [REDACTED]. Most of the information contained in these memoranda was obtained from the [REDACTED] or from newspapers. One memorandum indicates [REDACTED] and contains information from three Bureau informants. Two of the memoranda concern legitimate political activities of the SWP and the PFP and the Bureau cannot put itself in a position to be accused of interfering in these activities. For these reasons, it is felt the memoranda should not be furnished the AHP. Attached is a letter to Phoenix denying authority to furnish copies of memoranda to the AHP but authorizing them to orally furnish the AHP the information obtained from the [REDACTED] and from appropriate newspaper articles.

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-41

That the attached letter to Phoenix be sent.

Enclosure *sent 10-25-68*  
100-449698

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - [REDACTED]

54 NOV-4 1968  
HAG:bkb:lmk (5)

100- 449698-333 334, 335, 336, -  
337, 338, 339, 340

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100- 449698 Sub 47-NR 817168

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APR 21 1969

EMU 1391P

C

SAC, Charlotte .

8/12/68

Director, FBI (100-449698) --

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Enclosed herewith for each recipient office are ten copies of a reproduction of an article appearing in "Barron's" magazine entitled "Campus or Battleground? Columbia is a Warning to All American Universities."

This is a particularly hard-hitting indictment of the Columbia University riots and the reaction of University officials thereto.

It is the Bureau's belief that this article, written by an on-campus eyewitness, can be used to advantage by the Bureau to inform other educators and administrators of the true nature of the New Left and its attack upon our educational institutions.

You should furnish a copy of this article to educators and administrators in your division who are established sources. Where appropriate, you may also want to mail it anonymously to those college educators and administrators who have shown a reluctance to take decisive action against the New Left.

Any positive results obtained from the above or any comments made by recipients should be furnished the Bureau under the above caption.

MAILED 24  
AUG 13 1968  
COMM-FBI

Enclosures - 10

REC-34

EX 105

18 AUG 15 1968

2 - Jacksonville (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Louisville (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Memphis (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Miami (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - New Orleans (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Oklahoma City (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Omaha (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - San Antonio (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Tampa (Enclosures - 10)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RHM:jes

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ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

C/PX

PP

5 AUG 21 1968

Letter to SAC, Charlotte  
RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

NOTE:

The above referred article was written by Robert Hessen, an instructor at Columbia University's Graduate School of Business, and was printed in the 5/20/68 issue of "Barron's" magazine. It is a particularly critical analysis of Columbia University's handling of the riot. Information contained in this article should be brought to the attention of college officials throughout the country. Through it other universities may profit by taking a firmer stand from the outset during New Left disturbances.

By letters dated 7/29/68 and 8/2/68, we furnished copies of this same article to 25 other field offices.

100-449698-318

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100-449698 Sub

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| .. | 331 | .. | 9-11         |

APR 21 1969

Em/PGO

SAC, Albany

8/2/68

Director, FBI (100-449698)

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Enclosed herewith for each recipient office are ten copies of a reprojection of an article appearing in "Barron's" magazine entitled "Campus or Battleground? Columbia is a Warning to All American Universities."

This is a particularly hard-hitting indictment of the Columbia University riots and the reaction of University officials thereto.

It is the Bureau's belief that this article, written by an on-campus eyewitness, can be used to advantage by the Bureau to inform other educators and administrators of the true nature of the New Left and its attack upon our educational institutions.

You should furnish a copy of this article to educators and administrators in your division who are established sources. Where appropriate, you may also want to mail it anonymously to those college educators and administrators who have shown a reluctance to take decisive action against the New Left.

Any positive results obtained from the above or any comments made by recipients should be furnished the Bureau under the above caption.

Enclosures

2 - Denver (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Honolulu (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - New Haven (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Pittsburgh (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Portland (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Sacramento (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Seattle (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - Springfield (Enclosures - 10)  
2 - WFO (Enclosures - 10)

REC 36

6 AUG 6 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
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Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RHH:jes

(24)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

59 AUG 13 1968

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

Letter to SAC, Albany  
RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

NOTE:

The above referred article was written by Robert Hessen, an instructor at Columbia University's Graduate School of Business, and was printed in the 5/20/68 issue of "Barron's" magazine. It is a particularly critical analysis of Columbia University's handling of the riot. Information contained in this article should be brought to the attention of college officials throughout the country. Through it other universities may profit by taking a firmer stand from the outset during New Left disturbances.

By letter dated 7/29/68 we furnished copies of this same article to 15 other field offices.

A copy of article is attached for ready reference.

# Campus or Battle

## Columbia Is a Warning to All

A LARGER-than-life portrait of Karl Marx dominated the entrance of a classroom building; a red flag flew from its rooftop. Chains barred the doors of other buildings, and chanting mobs roamed across the campus. The scene might have been the University of Havana or Peking. It wasn't. It took place just a few express stops from Wall Street, at Columbia University, where, from April 23-30, student leftists seized and occupied five university buildings.

The siege tactics which disrupted Columbia and brought its normal activities to a halt represent the latest assault by a revolutionary movement which aims to seize first the universities and then the industries of America. The rebels are members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a nationwide organization with chapters on over 250 campuses (Barron's, November 15, 1965, and March 11, 1968).

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They admit that their campaign was a failure, which they ascribe to student and faculty apathy, and to the administration's refusal to bear and to heed their policy recommendations.

SDS rebels then resorted to their ultimate political weapon: the initiation of physical force, believing that they had a moral right to do so because they were "acting in a good cause." In the past, they had released many trial balloons to test this technique: they had obstructed N.R.O.T.C. graduation ceremonies; they had staged sit-ins in the offices of university administrators; and they had prevented recruiters for business firms and the C.I.A. from interviewing on campus. In each case, the consequence had been a polite rap on the knuckles, a verbal reprimand devoid of significant penalties such as expulsion or criminal prosecution.

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true only in the narrow sense that they did not shed blood. But force was inextricably involved in every act that they perpetrated. They held the Associate Dean as hostage against his will—that was force. They barricaded faculty and students from their offices and classrooms—that was force. They seized property which was not rightfully theirs and refused to release it until their

whether the initials of the aggressors are KKK or SDS.

3) The rebels claim they were justified in using force because the administration had refused to give them a hearing on their demands for change. A university, like a well-run business, should be interested in knowing whether it is satisfying its customers. If it provides students with incompetent faculty, or poor laboratories or libraries, or supports political policies which they oppose, it is in the university's self-interest to maintain open channels of communication so that grievances can be expressed and remedial actions considered. Students who are dissatisfied with any aspect of a university's policies have a right to peace-

7) Rebels should not be criminally prosecuted. After all, they are students, not criminals. One need only remember that it was Nazi students who set fire to university libraries and terrorized professors. Being a student does not grant one an exemption from the laws which prohibit attacks on human life and property. The rebels acted like criminals and should be punished as such.

8) It is impractical to suspend or expel the student rebels because there are so many of them. This amounts to saying that if a sufficiently large mob breaks the law or violates individual right, it will be immune from punishment. If this principle is accepted, then every law-breaker will be safe from prosecution if he can find

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Originally, when SDS began as an outgrowth of the Socialist League for Industrial Democracy, it repudiated communism as an authoritarian system and excluded communists from its membership. However, in 1964-65, SDS sought to broaden its power base by forming a united front with communist youth groups. Although SDS continued to describe its objectives in such murky phrases as "participatory democracy," the real tenor of its philosophy can best be seen in its intellectual heroes, Marx and Mao; in its action hero, Che Guevara; and in its slogans scrawled across the embattled Columbia campus—"Lenin won, Castro won, and we will win, too!"

SDS' hard-core membership at Columbia is fewer than 200 out of 17,800 students. But after it seized campus buildings, barred faculty and students from their offices and classrooms, and held a dean as hostage, its ranks were swelled by several hundred sympathizers, including many outsiders. SDS launched its assault on Columbia after failing peacefully to attain two of its political objectives on campus:

1) The severing of Columbia's connection with the Institute for Defense Analyses, a government-spon-

to heed their policy recommendations.

SDS rebels then resorted to their ultimate political weapon: the initiation of physical force, believing that they had a moral right to do so because they were "acting in a good cause." In the past, they had released many trial balloons to test this technique: they had obstructed N.R.O.T.C. graduation ceremonies; they had staged sit-ins in the offices of university administrators; and they had prevented recruiters for business firms and the C.I.A. from interviewing on campus. In each case, the consequence had been a polite rap on the knuckles, a verbal reprimand devoid of significant penalties such as expulsion or criminal prosecution.

On April 23, after trying to block construction at the gym site, SDS demonstrators and their militant Negro allies, members of the Student Afro-American Society, returned to campus. At the urging of their leaders, they marched on Hamilton Hall, the main classroom building of Columbia College. They were determined to barricade themselves in until the university met their demands. An unexpected fissure occurred within the ranks of the rebels who claimed to be united in their opposition to racism: the Negro militants ordered the whites to get out, and SDS complied. SDS then proceeded to capture a base of operation of its own. The rebels first seized the administrative offices of President Grayson Kirk in Low Library, and later three more classroom buildings.

Most students reacted with bewilderment and outrage. They demanded to know why the campus police had not been called in, and why the rebels were allowed to receive reinforcements of manpower and food. They witnessed caravans of litter-bearers marching across campus with cartons of supplies, as if their destination were a country picnic. Many students also wondered why the administration had not or-

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The rebels have no patience for any slow process of change. They are tired of "just talk"—they want "action now." They will tolerate no opposition. They are indifferent to the fact that their tactics will destroy Columbia University by driving out the best minds, just as Nazi terror tactics drove the Jewish intellectuals out of the universities of Germany. But there is a crucial difference now. While men like Einstein could escape to England or America during the 'Thirties, SDS will try to close all avenues of escape. The use of intimidation and force will spread until there will be no

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It grew increasingly obvious that the rebels would not withdraw from the buildings until forced out by the police. They wanted blood to be shed, so that they could raise the cry of "police brutality," acquire the aura of martyrdom, and thereby win the majority of students and faculty to their side. Regrettably, President Kirk played right into their hands, by waiting until the sixth day of siege before calling in the police. The only other alternative open to him at that point would have been total capitulation, a final act of appeasement which would have served as an engraved invitation to renewed rebel demands in the future. The proper time to have acted against the rebels was at the outset of the siege, when a few dozen campus security officers could have achieved what it later took nearly 1,000 city police to do, at a price of over 100 injured rebels, spectators and policemen.

The aftermath of calling in the police was an upsurge of sympathy for the rebels. Their allies on campus called for a general strike by students and faculty to protest the use of police and to demand the ouster of President Kirk for having called in the police.

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true only in the narrow sense that they did not shed blood. But force was inextricably involved in every act that they perpetrated. They held the Associate Dean as hostage against his will—that was force. They barricaded faculty and students from their offices and classrooms—that was force. They seized property which was not rightfully theirs and refused to release it until their demands were met—that was force. Each of these is punished as an act of force under the civil laws of our society. They era the crimes known as false imprisonment, criminal trespass and extortion.

If these acts were perpetrated by a lone individual, their criminal character would be obvious. If a single felon had held the dean hostage, or seized the office of President Kirk, rifled his desk and copied his files, no one would have confused him with an idealistic, "committed" crusader. On an individual basis, if someone demands that you grant him wealth or power that he has not earned and which he can only obtain by threats of violence, one does not doubt for a moment that he is an extortionist. The act of a lone thug does not become legitimized when he teams up with other hoodlums. As Ayn Rand noted in "Capitalism: the Unknown Ideal," no individual can acquire rights by joining a gang. "Rights are not a matter of numbers—and there can be no such thing, in law or in morality, as actions forbidden to an individual, but permitted to a mob."

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dents with incompetent faculty, or poor laboratories or libraries, or supports political policies which they oppose, it is in the university's self-interest to maintain open channels of communication so that grievances can be expressed and remedial actions considered. Students who are dissatisfied with any aspect of a university's policies have a right to peacefully protest and petition, and even, in extreme situations, to boycott classes or organize a student strike. But they have no right to compel anyone to listen to their demands, nor a right to force other people to go on strike with them by prohibiting access to classes or by creating a general climate of terror to intimidate those who would oppose them.

4) The rebels claim that *sinca forca* is justified when peaceful tactics fail, they should be granted full amnesty. The single best answer to this argument is provided by Professor Leonard Peikoff in his forthcoming book, "Nazism and Contemporary America: the Ominous Parallels," who says: "The demand for amnesty on principle is the demand for the abdication on principle of legal authority; it is a demand for the formal sanction in advance of all future acts of force and violence, for the promise that such acts may be perpetrated hereafter with impunity. It is a demand to institutionalize the appeasement of brute force as a principle of civil policy in this country."

5) The rebels claim that police represent violence, and therefore should not be used on a college campus

acted like criminals and should be punished as such. 8) It is impractical to suspend or expel the student rebels because there are so many of them. This amounts to saying that if a sufficiently large mob breaks the law or violates individual right, it will be immune from punishment. If this principle is accepted, then every law-breaker will be safe from prosecution if he can find enough members for his gang. This will provide the leader with an absolutely irresistible recruitment device, and invite the outbreak of a reign of terror.

9) Admittedly the rebels violated property rights, but calling in the police could result in injury or loss of life, which is more important than loss of property. This argument amounts to saying that the lives of aggressors are more important than the property of victims. In action, this would mean that the police should not restrain rioting mobs from looting stores, or interfere with the KKK when it uses firebombs on Negro churches. On this principle, any victim of theft or expropriation would be advised to surrender his property—his wallet or warehouse—without resistance, lest the thief be hurt in the struggle. Acceptance of this principle would make every individual the defenseless target for any vandal or socialist.

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The Columbia crisis vitally affects the life of every American. No one's life or property can be secure in a society which tolerates the use of force by any group to achieve its goals. And no one will be safe as long as college and civil authorities

Castro won, and we will win, too!" SDS' hard-core membership at Columbia is fewer than 200 out of 17,800 students. But after it seized campus buildings, barred faculty and students from their offices and classrooms, and held a dean as hostage, its ranks were swelled by several hundred sympathizers, including many outsiders. SDS launched its assault on Columbia after failing peacefully to attain two of its political objectives on campus:

1) The severing of Columbia's connection with the Institute for Defense Analyses, a government-sponsored consortium which performs research and analysis relating to national defense and domestic riot control. SDS complained that Columbia's affiliation was aiding America's "imperialist aggression" in Vietnam, while at home I.D.A.'s studies in riot control were designed to suppress demonstrations by anti-war groups.

2) A halt to the construction of a new gymnasium in Morningside Park, which adjoins Harlem, on land leased to Columbia by the City of New York.

SDS claimed that Columbia was guilty of "institutional racism," that the university was poaching upon the territory of the adjacent Negro community, and that the separate entrance for the part of the gym set aside for use by the neighborhood children constituted "Gym Crow."

In fact, the Columbia gymnasium had been warmly endorsed by over 40 Harlem community groups when it was announced eight years ago. It would occupy only two of the 30 acres in Morningside Park. Its presence would create an atmosphere of safety in an area which is now the territory of muggers and addicts. Separate entrances would be necessary because Columbia students would enter from the Heights on which the university is located, while Harlem residents would more conveniently reach the gym through the park which lies some 200 feet below. The issue is not one of his-

seized the administrative offices of President Greyson Kirk in Low Library, and later three more classroom buildings.

Most students reacted with bewilderment and outrage. They demanded to know why the campus police had not been called in, and why the rebels were allowed to receive reinforcements of manpower and food. They witnessed caravans of litter-bearers marching across campus with cartons of supplies, as if their destination were a country picnic. Many students also wondered why the administration had not ordered the cutting off of electricity, water and telephones inside the buildings held by the rebels, since it was known that they were making Xerox copies of President Kirk's letter files and formulating strategy with outside allies by phone.

The administration's failure to take prompt action evidently sprang from a number of motives: fear of bad publicity; uncertainty about the morality of using the police to uphold law and order; reluctance to make a decision which might prove unpopular with some of the faculty, students or alumni; anxiety that members of the Harlem community might march on Columbia if police were used to clear the buildings; and the delusion that if they took no punitive action, the rebels would recognize them as men of good will. An SDS leader later admitted that if President Kirk had responded within the first hour, or even the first day, by sending in the university's own security police, the rebels would have "folded like a house of cards." By its inaction, the administration gave the rebels time to organize their resistance, bolster their morale and mobilize sympathizers and supplies from the outside.

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Members of the senior faculty attempted to mediate between the administration and the rebels. But their efforts were futile, since they

have served as an engraved invitation to renewed rebel demands in the future. The proper time to have acted against the rebels was at the outset of the siege, when a few dozen campus security officers could have achieved what it later took nearly 1,000 city police to do, at a price of over 100 injured rebels, spectators and policemen.

The aftermath of calling in the police was an upsurge of sympathy for the rebels. Their allies on campus called for a general strike by students and faculty to protest the use of police and to demand the ouster of President Kirk for having called them in. One mark of the effectiveness of this strike is that Columbia College, the undergraduate division of the university, voted to end all classes for the rest of the semester, which was scheduled to run another month. The strikers also won support from those who disapproved of both the tactics and objectives of SDS, but who wished to take advantage of the strike to bring about what is cryptically described as "restructuring of the university."

Even those most sympathetic to SDS, however, do not deny that the issues of I.D.A. and the gym were merely pretexts to justify the resort to force. SDS' short-range objective is to achieve "student power," which means total control over the university. They seek student veto power over appointment and tenure of faculty, admission of new students, courses offered by the university, degree requirements and the disposition of university funds. They propose to "nationalize

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Since SDS tactics have succeeded in crippling a great university, the next targets can be City Hall, the State Capitol, or even the White House. If this prediction seems alarmist, consider the fact that SDS sympathizers known as "Yippies" already have announced plans to intimidate and disrupt the Democratic National Convention in Chicago this summer, in order to extort concessions on platform and candidates.

Whatever the final outcome of the Columbia strike, one thing is certain: the methods used at Columbia will be embraced by other student leftists on campuses throughout the country. Those who resort to force will justify their tactics by the same arguments advanced by the Columbia rebels and their apologists. If this national menace is to be checked, it is imperative

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Whatever the final outcome of the Columbia strike, one thing is certain: the methods used at Columbia will be emulated by other student leftists on campuses throughout the country. Those who resort to force will justify their tactics by the same arguments advanced by the Columbia rebels and their apologists. If this national menace is to be checked, it is imperative that one know how to answer them.

1) Some rebels claim that none of their tactics involved the use of force. This was

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2) Other rebels admit that they used force, but claim that force is justified when peaceful tactics fail. The fundamental political principle that all men must respect is that no individual or group may initiate the use of force for any purpose whatsoever. To accept SDS' alternative amounts to carte blanche for violence, and invites the complete breakdown of the rule of law.

To understand the grotesque irrationality of SDS' argument, consider the following. Imagine that there were a student chapter of the Ku Klux Klan, which was protesting the proposed use of the new gym by Negroes. They tried, through campus rallies and petitions, to arouse the students, faculty and administration to support their demands, but their peaceful tactics failed. If this group then proceeded to seize university buildings and hold members of the administration as hostages, would anyone have condoned their use of force, or have called for negotiations and compromise? The principle is the same: the initiation of force to achieve one's political objectives is both immoral and illegal, regardless of

the use of violence. The demand on principle is the demand for the abdication on principle of legal authority; it is a demand for the formal sanction in advance of all future acts of force and violence, for the promise that such acts may be perpetrated hereafter with impunity. It is a demand to institutionalize the appeasement of brute force as a principle of civil policy in this country."

5) The rebels claim that police represent violence, and therefore should not be used on a college campus which is a citadel of reason and persuasion. Here the rebels evade the fact that they were the ones who first resorted to violence. They obliterate the distinction between criminals who initiate the use of force and the police whose function it is to retaliate with force to restore peace and to protect the rights of the victims.

6) The rebels claim that their quarrel with the administration was purely an internal dispute, hence the introduction of police represents meddlesome interference by outsiders. By the same reasoning, one could just as well conclude that if workers seize a factory, customers seize a store, or tenants seize an apartment building, these, too, are internal matters and do not justify calling in the police. In reason there can be no such concept as an "internal dispute" which allows someone to be victimized and prevented from calling the police. Those who violate property rights are scarcely in a position to claim that their conquered territory is "private property" upon which police may not enter.

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The Columbia crisis vitally affects the life of every American. No one's life or property can be secure in a society which tolerates the use of force by any group to achieve its goals. And no one will be safe as long as college and civil authorities persist in their policy of answering aggression with appeasement.

Now is the time for intelligent counter-action. One means is to withhold financial support from colleges which condone or compromise with student terror tactics. A second is to write to the president and trustees of colleges urging that they endorse the following position: that their institution offers no sanctuary to any group which advocates the initiation of physical force, and that they will act immediately and without hesitation to expel and criminally prosecute any student guilty of such tactics.

Men need to live by the guidance of rational principles and to resolve their disagreements peacefully. It is both immoral and impractical to abandon principles in a time of crisis, and then hope to survive on the basis of pragmatic expediency and cowardly compromise. Each time that a violation of individual rights is tolerated, it serves as an invitation for future violations. A free society cannot survive unless men of reason rally to its defense.

# Columbia Is a Warning to All American Universities

A LARGER-than-life portrait of Karl Marx dominates the entrance of a classroom building; a Red flag flies from its perch. Chants reverberate the shores of other buildings, and shouting mobs swarm over the campus. The scene might have been the University of Moscow or Peking. It wasn't. It took place just a few express steps from Wall Street, at Columbia University, where, from April 23-30, student rebels seized and occupied five of its seven buildings.

The nine tactics which disrupted Columbia and brought its normal activities to a halt to prevent the latest assault by a revolutionary movement which aims to seize first the universities and then the industries of America, the rebels are members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a nationwide organization with chapters on over 200 campuses (Barron's, November 15, 1967, and March 11, 1968).

Originally, when SDS began as an offshoot of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy, it organized communists on an authoritarian system and revolutionaries from its ranks. However, in 1964-65, SDS moved to dominate its power by forming a united front with communist youth groups. Although SDS continued to dominate its objectives in such early phases as "anti-patriotic dormitories," the real base of its power can best be seen in its intellectual bases: Marx and Mao. In its action, SDS, like the Communists, and in its nine areas spread across the embattled Columbia campus—"Low, low, Caste, even, and ay will win, too!"

SDS' hard-core membership of Columbia is fewer than 200 out of 17,000 students. But after it seized campus buildings, forced faculty and students from their offices and dorms, and held a sit at hostage, its ranks were swelled by over 1,000 hundred sympathizers, including many outsiders. SDS launched its assault on Columbia after failing previously to attain two of its political objectives on campus:

1) The severing of Columbia's connection with the Institute for Defense Analyses, a government-sponsored consortium which performs research and analysis relating to national defense and domestic security. SDS' complaint was adding America's "imperial, aggressive" in Vietnam, while at home J.D.A.'s studies in its control were deemed to suppress demonstrations by radical groups.

2) A halt to the construction of a new gymnasium in Morningside Park, which adjoins Harlem, on land leased to Columbia by the City of New York.

SDS claimed that Columbia was guilty of "cultural racism," that the university was "pervading upon the territory of the adjacent Negro community, and that the separate entrance for the part of the gym is not made for use by the non-black children constituted 'Gym Crows.'

In fact, the Columbia gymnasium had been originally intended by over 200 Harlem community groups who at one time or another had applied to use it. It would occupy only one of the 30 acres in Morningside Park. Its programs would create an atmosphere of safety in an area which is one of the territory of muggers and addicts. Separate entrance would be necessary because Columbia students would enter from the Heights on which the university is located, while Harlem residents would more than usually reach the gym through the park which lies some 200 feet below. The issue is not one of bigotry but of geography.

SDS spokesmen claimed, truthfully, that they had sought to create the Columbia community into opposing the gym and the J.D.A. building.

They admit that their campaign was a failure, which they ascribe to student and faculty apathy, and to the administration's refusal to hear and to heed their policy recommendations.

SDS rebels then resorted in their ultimate political weapon: the initiation of physical force, believing that they had a moral right to do so because they were "acting in a good cause." In the past, they had bombarded many trial balloons to test this technique: they had disrupted M.R.O.T.C. graduation ceremonies; they had staged sit-ins in the offices of university administrators; and they had presented recruiters for various firms and the C.I.A. from interviews on campus. In each case, the consequences had been a polite tap on the knuckles, a verbal reprimand devoid of significant penalties such as expulsion or criminal prosecution.

On April 27, after trying to block construction of the gym site, SDS demonstrators and their militant Negro allies, members of the Student Afro-American Society, returned to campus. At the urging of their leaders, they marched on Hamilton Hall, the main classroom building of Columbia College. They were determined to barricade themselves in until the university met their demands. An unexpected fire was discovered within the ranks of the rebels who claimed to be united in their opposition to racism; the Negro militants ordered the whites to get out, and SDS complied. SDS then proceeded to capture a hour of operation of its foes. The rebels fired upon the administrative offices of President Grayson Kirk to low battery, and later three more classroom buildings.

Most students reacted with but indifference and outrage. They demanded to know why the campus police had not been called in, and why the rebels were allowed to receive reinforcements of manpower and food. They witnessed scenes of leftists-beaten marching across campus with curtains of support, as if their destination were a country picnic. Many students also wondered why the administration had not ordered the cutting off of electricity, water, and telephones inside the buildings held by the rebels, since it was known that they were making Korda copies of President Kirk's letter files and formulating strategy with outside allies by phone.

The administration's failure to take prompt action evidently sprung from a number of motives: fear of bad publicity; uncertainty about the necessity of using the police to uphold law and order; reluctance to make a decision which might prove unpopular with some of the faculty, students or alumni; anxiety that members of the Harlem community might march on Columbia if police were used to clear the buildings; and the decision that if they took an aggressive action, the rebels would recognize them or even of good will. An SDS leader later admitted that if President Kirk had responded within the first hour, or even the first day, by sending in the university's own security police, the rebels would have "brought him a box of cards." By its inaction, the administration gave the rebels time to organize their resistance, hold their morale and mobilize sympathizers and supporters from the outside.

Members of the senior faculty attempted to mediate between the administration and the rebels. But their efforts were futile, since they were faced with an impossible assignment: to do on a man's formulaic language enough to satisfy both sides which meant that the terms of agreement had to both parties and refuse amnesty for the rebels.

This last article from the May 30 issue of BARRON'S was written by Robert Barron, a young instructor at Columbia University's Graduate School of Business, and candidate for a doctorate in the Department of History.

It is being reprinted in the form of an advertisement by Dear Jones & Company, publishers of Barron's, in the interests of the wide audience the subject commands.

The leaders believed that the rebels would be willing to negotiate for a principal resolution to the mounting crisis. What they discovered, however, was that every demand made by the rebels was either ignored or granted by the administration.

SDS' ultimate demand was that they be granted total autonomy on a pre-condition for negotiation.

It grew increasingly obvious that the rebels would not withdraw from the buildings they had seized but by the price. They agreed to end their strike in that they could cause the cry of "other bratality," acquire the support of the majority of students and faculty in their ranks. Regrettably, President Kirk played right into their hands, by waiting until the sixth day of strike before calling in the police. The only other alternative open to him at that point would have been total capitulation, a kind of ultimatum which would have served on an enraged administration to renew their demands on the basis. The proper time to have acted against the rebels was at the outset of the siege, when a few dozen rebels severely ill-fated would have achieved what at later took nearly 1,000 city police to do, as a price of over 100 injured rebels, spectators and police.

The aftermath of calling in the police was an outpouring of sympathy for the rebels. There, others on campus called for a general strike by students and faculty to protest the use of police and to denounce the order of President Kirk for having called them in. One mark of the effectiveness of SDS strike is that Columbia College, the undergraduate division of the university, called to end all classes for the rest of the semester, which was extended to one another month. The strike also was supported from those who despised both the tactics and objectives of SDS, but who wished to take advantage of the strike to bring about what is cryptically described as "restructuring of the university."

Even SDS' most sympathetic, SDS, however, do not deny that the most of J.D.A. and the gym were severely damaged in justify their right to seize SDS' ultimate objective, to achieve "student power," which means total control over the university. They seek students to prove their opposition and tenure of faculty, admissions of new students, courses offered by the university, degree requirements and the dispensation of university funds. They propose to "radicalize the faculty," which means to purge it of conservatives and of law-and-order liberals who oppose the initiation of force to achieve political ends.

SDS rebels claim that were of these tactics involved the use of force. This was

the identity of the rebels, who regard the university as their mother, natural resource, avoiding their propagation.

But the long-range objective of SDS is even more massive. As a sympathetic article in *The New Republic* (May 11, 1968) states: "The point of the protest was power. And in the broadest sense, to the most radical members of the SDS Steering Committee, Columbia itself was not the issue. It was revolution, and it could be shown that a great university could hardly be taken over in a matter of days by a well-organized group of students, than no university was secure. Everywhere the purpose was to destroy institutions of the American Establishment, in the hope that out of the ashes a better America would emerge."

The rebels have no patience for any other program of change. They are tired of "just talk"; they want "action now." They will tolerate no compromise. They are militant, to the fact that their tactics will destroy Columbia University by driving out the best minds, not just War terror tactics derive the Jewish intelligentsia out of the universities of Germany. But there is a crucial difference. While like the French could escape to England or America during the Third, SDS will try to close all avenues of escape. The use of intimidation and force will spread until there will be an insurGENCY for more of reason within the academic world, or, ultimately, within the nation. One need only consider the fate of conservatives and liberals alike in countries which have been overrun by SDS' intellectual mentors: Mao's China and Castro's Cuba.

Since SDS tactics have succeeded in crippling a great university, the next targets can be City Hall, the State Capitol, or even the White House. If this prediction is true, SDS' ultimate demands that you give him wealth or power that he has earned and which he can only obtain by thefts of violence, one does not doubt for a moment that he is an extorter. The act of a bank robber does not become legitimate when he turns up in other bank. An Ay Rand noted in "Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal," "an individual can acquire rights by joining a gang." Rights are not a matter of numbers and there can be no such thing, in law as in morality, as actions forbidden in an individual, but permitted to a mob."

SDS' other rebels admit that they used force, but claim that force is justified when peaceful tactics fail. The fundamental political principle that all men are created equal in that an individual or group may violate the use of force for any purpose whatever. To accept SDS' alternative demands in carte blanche for violence, and ignore the complete breakdown of the rule of law.

To understand the grotesque irrationality of SDS' argument, consider the following. Imagine that there were a student chapter of Columbia of the Ku Klux Klan, which was protesting the proposed use of the new gym by Negroes. They tried, through campus rallies and petitions, to pressure the administration to abandon their demands, but their peaceful tactic failed. If this group then proceeded to burn university buildings and hold members of the administration as hostages, would anyone have condon. It then be justified for them to use force, or have called for negotiations and compromise? The principle in the same: the behavior of SDS' rebels in their actions in both immoral and illegal, and regardless of

whether the initials of the aggressors are KKK or SDS.

The rebels claim they were justified in using force because the administration had refused to give them a hearing on their demands for change. A university, like a well-run business, should be interested in knowing whether it is satisfying its customers. If it provides service with incompetent faculty, or poor laboratories or libraries, or supports political policies which they oppose, it is in the university's self-interest to maintain open channels of communication so that grievances can be expressed and remedial actions considered. Students who are dissatisfied with any aspect of a university's policies, if they are sufficiently large enough to have a voice, will be able to express and remedial actions considered. Students who are dissatisfied with any aspect of a university's policies, if they are sufficiently large enough to have a voice, will be able to express and remedial actions considered. If the rebels are converted, then they have a right to peaceful protest and protest, and even to extreme situations to boycott classes, programs, or courses. But they have no right to compel anyone to believe to force other people to go on strike with them by pressuring their professors or by creating a general climate of terror to intimidate those who would oppose them.

The rebels claim that since there is justified, they should be granted full autonomy. The single most important to their argument is made by Professor Leonard Peltier in his forthcoming book, "Nation and Contemporary America: The Assassination of Martin Luther King." He says: "The demand for autonomy on principle is the demand for the abolition on principle of legal authority; it is a demand for the formalization in advance of all future acts of force and violence, for the prevention that such acts may be perpetrated heretically with impunity. It is a demand to impose the representation of brute force on a principle of no policy to the country." The rebels claim that police represent violence, and therefore should not be used on a college campus which is a model of equality and permission. Here the rebels evade the fact that they were the ones who first resorted to violence. They illustrate the distinction between criminals who believe the use of force and the police whose function is to relate with force to restore peace and to protect the rights of the victims.

The rebels claim that their quarrel with the administration was purely on internal dispute, hence the intrusion of police represents no violation of their autonomy. This is a fallacy. By the same reasoning, one could just as well conclude that if workers seize a factory, customers seize a store, or tenants seize an apartment building, they are internal matters and do not justify calling in the police. In reality, there can be no such case, since an "internal dispute" which allows someone to be victimized and prevented from calling the police. Those who violate property rights are clearly in a position to claim that there can be no violation of their property rights, upon which police may not enter.

Now need to live by the guidance of rational principles and to resolve their agreements peacefully. It both honored and honored to shun the principles of peace, and those who are on the side of pragmatism and conciliation. Each time that a violation of individual rights is tolerated, it serves as an invitation to future violations. A true democracy cannot survive unless men of reason rally to its cause.

100-449698

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100-449698 Sub

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APP 21 1969

Emu/BSGP

SAC, Baltimore

7/29/68

Director, FBI (100-449698)

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Enclosed herewith for each recipient office are 15 copies of a reproduction of an article appearing in "Barron's" magazine entitled "Campus or Battleground? Columbia is a Warning to All American Universities."

This is a particularly hard-hitting indictment of the Columbia University riots and the reaction of University officials thereto.

It is the Bureau's belief that this article, written by an on-campus eyewitness, can be used to advantage by the Bureau to inform other educators and administrators of the true nature of the New Left and its attack upon our educational institutions.

You should furnish a copy of this article to educators and administrators in your division who are established sources. Where appropriate, you may also want to mail it anonymously to those college educators and administrators who have shown a reluctance to take decisive action against the New Left.

Any positive results obtained from the above or any comments made by recipients should be furnished the Bureau under the above caption.

Enclosures - 15

REC 13 / 11/11/68

2 - Boston (Enclosures - 15)  
2 - Buffalo (Enclosures - 15)  
2 - Chicago (Enclosures - 15)  
2 - Cincinnati (Enclosures - 15)  
2 - Cleveland (Enclosures - 15)  
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2 - Philadelphia (Enclosures - 15)  
2 - San Diego (Enclosures - 15)  
2 - San Francisco (Enclosures - 15)

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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

61 AUG 1 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Letter to SAC, Baltimore  
RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

NOTE:

The above referred article was written by Robert Hessen, an instructor at Columbia University's Graduate School of Business, and was printed in the 5/20/68 issue of "Barron's" magazine. It is a particularly critical analysis of Columbia University's handling of the riot. Information contained in this article should be brought to the attention of college officials throughout the country. Through it other universities may profit by taking a firmer stand from the outset during New Left disturbances.

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APR 21 1969

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APR 21 1969

AM/293

SAC, Albany

Director, FBI (100-449698)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT  
(COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT)

1 - Mr. DeLeach  
1 - Mr. Felt  
7/5/68

1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.P. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

Bulst 5/10/68 requested suggestions for counter-intelligence action against the New Left. The replies to the Bureau's request have been analyzed and it is felt that the following suggestions for counterintelligence action can be utilized by all offices:

1. Preparation of a leaflet designed to counteract the impression that Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other minority groups speak for the majority of students at universities. The leaflet should contain photographs of New Left leadership at the respective university. Naturally, the most obnoxious pictures should be used.

2. The instigating of or the taking advantage of personal conflicts or animosities existing between New Left leaders.

3. The creating of impressions that certain New Left leaders are informants for the Bureau or other law enforcement agencies.

100-449698-25X  
16 JUL 11 1968

4. The use of articles from student newspapers and/or the "underground press" to show the depravity of New Left leaders and members. In this connection, articles showing advocacy of the use of narcotics and free sex are ideal to send to university officials, wealthy donors, members of the legislature and parents of students who are active in New Left matters.

5. Since the use of marijuanna and other narcotics is widespread among members of the New Left, you should be alert to opportunities to have them arrested by local authorities on drug charges. Any information concerning the

2 - All Field Offices

BAW:jes  
(126) JUL 11 1968 P

MAIN-ROAD

TELETYPE UNIT

W 44 702 (2-0)

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

Letter to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
100-449698

fact that individuals have marijuana or are engaging in a narcotics party should be immediately furnished to local authorities and they should be encouraged to take action.

6. The drawing up of anonymous letters regarding individuals active in the New Left. These letters should set out their activities and should be sent to their parents, neighbors and the parents' employers. This could have the effect of forcing the parents to take action.

7. Anonymous letters or leaflets describing faculty members and graduate assistants in the various institutions of learning who are active in New Left matters. The activities and associations of the individual should be set out. Anonymous mailings should be made to university officials, members of the state legislature, Board of Regents, and to the press. Such letters could be signed "A Concerned Alumni" or "A Concerned Taxpayer."

8. Whenever New Left groups engage in disruptive activities on college campuses, cooperative press contacts should be encouraged to emphasize that the disruptive elements constitute a minority of the students and do not represent the conviction of the majority. The press should demand an immediate student referendum on the issue in question. Inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of students is not active in New Left matters, it is felt that this technique, used in carefully selected cases, could put an end to lengthy demonstrations and could cause embarrassment to New Left elements.

9. There is a definite hostility among SDS and other New Left groups toward the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). This hostility should be exploited wherever possible.

10. The field was previously advised that New Left groups are attempting to open coffeehouses near military bases in order to influence members of the Armed Forces. Wherever these coffeehouses are, friendly news media should be alerted to them and their purpose. In addition, various

**Letter to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
100-449698**

drugs, such as marijuana, will probably be utilized by individuals running the coffeehouses or frequenting them. Local law enforcement authorities should be promptly advised whenever you receive an indication that this is being done.

11. Consider the use of cartoons, photographs, and anonymous letters which will have the effect of ridiculing the New Left. Ridicule is one of the most potent weapons which we can use against it.

12. Be alert for opportunities to confuse and disrupt New Left activities by misinformation. For example, when events are planned, notification that the event has been cancelled or postponed could be sent to various individuals.

You are reminded that no counterintelligence action is to be taken without Bureau approval. Insure that this Program is assigned to an Agent with an excellent knowledge of both New Left groups and individuals. It must be approached with imagination and enthusiasm if it is to be successful.

As an economy measure the caption "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT" should be used on all communications concerning this Program.

**NOTE:**

See memo C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan dated 7/3/68, captioned as above, prepared by BAW:jes.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 7/3/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan *Off.*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT  
(COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT)

DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Carter \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan *7/1* \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

By letter dated 5/10/68 to all offices, the Bureau requested suggestions for counterintelligence action against the New Left. The replies to the Bureau's request have been analyzed. Many suggestions were made which were applicable to all offices.

These suggestions include preparation of a leaflet designed to counteract the impression that Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other minority groups speak for the majority of the students; the taking advantage of personal conflicts between New Left leaders; the creating of impressions that certain New Left leaders are informants; the use of articles from student and "underground" newspapers to show the depravity of New Left leaders and members; the preparation of anonymous letters to authorities and to parents of individuals active in the New Left setting out the activities of New Left members; anonymous letters to university officials protesting the actions of certain faculty members; the exploiting of hostility between New Left groups and such organizations as the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), a pro-Chinese, Marxist group; the use of ridicule against the New Left; and the pointing out and the calling attention to the use of narcotics by these individuals.

There is enclosed a letter to all offices setting out these suggestions. All offices are reminded that they are to take no counterintelligence action without Bureau approval.

REG 14491-11-  
EX 106

JUL 10 1968

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letter to all offices be approved.

Enclosure  
100-449698  
BAW:jes  
(8) 1968

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Felt  
1 - Mr. Bishop

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. Thompson  
1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

F-14 sent 7-8-68

SAC, Chicago

8/21/68

Director, FBI (100-439048)

1 - Mr. C. D. [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)  
IS - SDS

BUDED: 7/7/68

At the recent national convention of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a leaflet entitled "Ham Radio" was distributed. This leaflet contains the following statement: "The movement needs better communications, we are trying to set up a radical ham radio network which will aid in the rapid exchange of news and political analysis among revolutionary students both here and in Europe."

The leaflet contains a form which the recipient is to fill in if he has an amateur radio license, ham radio equipment or if he knows someone who does. This form is to be mailed to the Summer Liberation School Newspaper, Columbia Strike Committee, 636 West 114th Street, New York City.

All offices are to immediately survey their informants to determine whether any of them have amateur radio equipment or an amateur license. If such an informant is located, immediately advise the Bureau so that the informant can be utilized to penetrate this communications network.

All informants are to be alerted to this proposed network and instructed to obtain additional information concerning it. Bear in mind the possibility of instituting effective counterintelligence action through informants. All offices are to be alert for individuals who can be developed as informants for use in this matter. Your liaison with the Federal Communications Commission could be a source for such individuals.

2 - Albany  
2 - Baltimore  
2 - Boston  
2 - Buffalo  
2 - Cleveland  
2 - Detroit  
2 - Los Angeles  
2 - Milwaukee

2 - Minneapolis  
2 - Newark  
2 - New Haven  
2 - New York  
2 - Philadelphia  
2 - San Francisco  
2 - Seattle  
2 - WFO

NOT RECORDED

(1) - 100-449698 (Counterintelligence Program)

152 JUT 21 1968

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51 JUN 27 1968

DUPLICATE YELLOW

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Letter to SAC, Chicago  
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY  
100-439048

The New York Office is to immediately direct a source into the Columbia Strike Committee in order to obtain complete information concerning the proposed radio network. Identify the individuals who reply to this leaflet. Keep the Bureau advised of the status of the proposed network.

The results of your informant survey are to be furnished to the Bureau by 7/7/68.

NOTE:

The above-described leaflet was distributed at the SDS National Convention which was held 6/10-15/68. It is necessary that we make plans to penetrate this network so that we will have all available information concerning it. Penetration of it will also open many opportunities for counterintelligence action against the New Left. The offices to which this is being sent are the offices with SDS chapters and an active New Left movement.

100-449698-236 CHANGED TO

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E.M. (P.G.P)

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APR 21 1969

Emr | RHP

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APR 21 1969  
EML/SPYB

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 6/7/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan (f)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Review of files on New Left groups revealed that JOIN Community Union, a community action project of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) which is commonly known as "JOIN," has a publication entitled "The Firing Line," a copy of which is attached. While it is self-listed as a weekly publication, reliable informants have advised the paper was last issued on 2/8/68 due to current financial problems; however, it could be resumed at any time.

It is noted that The American Legion issues a copyrighted publication officially entitled "The American Legion Firing Line," copy attached, which is commonly referred to as "The Firing Line." Although there appears to be no criminal violation of the Copyright Statute due to the variance of the official names of the two publications and that JOIN is self-described as a "not-for-profit organization," there is a distinct possibility that some civil remedy may be available to The American Legion.

EX-105 REC-32 / 17  
It is therefore, suggested that appropriate officials of The American Legion be alerted to the JOIN publication so that they might take the necessary action to protect their copyright.

RECOMMENDATION:

6 JUN 19 1968

That the above information be confidentially furnished to appropriate officials of The American Legion through liaison channels in the Crime Records Division.

Enclosures

RR:jes  
(7)

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

67 JUN 2 1968



# FIRING LINE



Vol. XVII No. 1

Subscription rate \$3.00 per year. Bulk rate available

JANUARY, 1968

## On The Side Line



*Courtesy of The Indianapolis Star*

## WILLIAM E. (ROBBIE) ROBINSON

The staff of *Firing Line* wishes to express its appreciation to William E. (Robbie) Robinson for the many courtesies he has extended in permitting the reproduction of his timely and excellent cartoons in this publication. The above cartoon is his way of honoring The American Legion for, as "Robbie" said, "he thought this was a good place to put an American Legion Flag."

## COMMANDING THOUGHTS

### THE FOLK SINGERS

Two of the most publicized, so-called folksingers today are Pete Seeger and Joan Baez.

Many of Pete Seeger's songs dwell on the alleged misery of a downtrodden society and concentrate, primarily, on the corruptness of the capitalist system. His name has been listed many times on the programs of "pro-communist" benefits and communist papers, such as *The Worker* and *The National Guardian*, never fail to list his performances. Recently, after not having been engaged by commercial broadcasting for seventeen years, he performed on "The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour"

and accused the Columbia Broadcasting System of censoring one of his songs. Seeger contended that C.B.S. would not allow him to do "Waist Deep in the Big Muddy," a song concerning a soldier in 1942 who drowned because his commanding officer forced him to march in water without knowing how deep it was. "No song that I've done in the last 10 years," he said, "has got the applause that this one has. I think it's one of the best things I've ever done, and I've sung it before lots of family audiences." He maintained that the objection was based on the song's sixth verse, which relates the song to the present and says:

"Now every time I read the papers  
That old Feelin' comes on  
We're waist deep in the Big Muddy  
And the big fool says to push on."

Joan Baez has become very rich singing songs about the poor; she also has made headlines by her anti-war demonstrations and subsequent jailing for disturbing the peace although she says: "I'm glad I spent time in jail I was put in jail for disturbing the peace, but I was disturbing the war." When asked: "Are you an American patriot?", Miss Baez replied: "Obviously not. I'm an American, but I don't think patriotism is very useful. I think such tribalism blinds us. The only way this planet will survive is if people get to see each other and know each other and know each other exist." She announced that she was withholding payment of 60 percent of her 1963 and 1964 income taxes because that amount would be spent for the military program to which she objects. However, when the Internal Revenue Service slapped liens on her holdings, she was more than willing to pay her taxes. In one of her typical anti-war songs, she tells of a soldier's saying:

"I'm going out to stem the tide;  
Some say it's yellow, some say it's red:  
It will not matter when we're dead."

The definition of a folksinger is "a singer of folksongs" the definition of a folksong is "a song originating in traditional among the common people of a country or region and forming part of their characteristic culture." The image Pete Seeger and Joan Baez project is certainly not "traditional among the common people of this country," nor is it "characteristic of their culture." They have capitalized on the capitalist system, making a great deal of money by singing before the youth of our nation; yet, it is through their songs that they attack the system which produces their windfall.

100-449698-119, 120, 121, 122

**CHANGED TO**

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**APR 21 1969**

tiny/DPK

**CHANGED TO**

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APR 21 1969

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APR 21 1969

Emy/DPB

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

5/23/68

SAC, Albany  
REC-106

Director, FBI

100-449698-7.2  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Reylet to all offices dated 5/10/68, advising of the institution of captioned program. In addition to the analysis requested therein, due at the Bureau by 6/1/68, you are instructed to prepare a separate communication to reach the Bureau on or before 6/14/68, to include the following detailed information:

1) False Allegations of Police Brutality

Detailed information is desired to counter the widespread charges of police brutality that invariably arise following student-police encounters. Included therein should be specific details of the alleged incident, the form of resistance and action taken by police. Incidents of undue provocation and violence used on police should also be set forth under this caption. It is anticipated this data can be used through friendly news media to vividly portray the revolutionary-type actions and militant nature of the New Left movement.

2) Immorality

Specific data should be furnished depicting the acrillous and depraved nature of many of the characters, activities, habits and living conditions representative of New Left adherents.

3) Action by College Administrators

Set forth information to show the value of college administrators and school officials taking a firm stand in resisting militant minority elements attempting to disrupt or take over college campuses. Specific examples should be given to show the results of being firm, as opposed to a vacillating attitude in considering student demands. Include therein the

2 - All Offices

RLR:jms  
(124)

6/6/1968

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

1/24/1968

Letter to Albany  
Re: Counterintelligence Program

demands made by the students and the action taken by college officials during and after the insurrection. Advice of the extant of outside influence in the uprising and approximate number of the student body actively participating. Additionally, point out whether and to what extant faculty members rendered aid and encouragement or joined militant radicals in their actions.

After submission of the initial letter by 6/14/68, the above-requested data should be furnished on a continuing basis as it is received by your office. Prompt and thorough reporting of this information is of the utmost importance so that it can be properly utilized in exposing the New Left movement.

Every avenue of possible embarrassment must be vigorously and enthusiastically explored. It cannot be expected that information of this type will be easily obtained, and an imaginative approach by your personnel is imperative to its success. Concentrated counterintelligence efforts must be directed at maneuvering active New Left participants into a defensive position so that their offensive actions are seriously impaired and eventually stifled. A realistic, imaginative approach is solicited and any ideas designed to foment confusion, disrupt, discredit, or expose the New Left and its adherents should be submitted for consideration.

NOTE:

Referenced letter to all offices dated 5/10/68, requested an analysis and appropriate recommendations on potential counterintelligence action against New Left organizations and Key Activists. See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. W.C. Sullivan, dated May 22, 1968, prepared by RLR:sib.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 22, 1968

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

To: \_\_\_\_\_  
En-Load \_\_\_\_\_  
Night \_\_\_\_\_  
Burg. \_\_\_\_\_  
Cancer \_\_\_\_\_  
Collision \_\_\_\_\_  
Control \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Tractor \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Police \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

You will recall that the Director approved my memorandum of May 9, 1968, setting up a Counterintelligence Program, and a letter was directed to all offices on May 10, 1968, requesting an analysis and recommendations on potential action to be instituted against New Left organizations and Key Activists. This information is to reach the Bureau on or before June 1, 1968, and it is expected to provide a broad analysis whereby specific areas of concentration can be selected for a counterintelligence operation.

In the meantime, it is felt there are several areas where data in possession of field offices should be immediately solicited in depth so that prompt assimilation and dissemination to the news media can be instituted to discredit the New Left movement and its adherents. In this regard, a proposed letter to all offices is attached requesting detailed information on false allegations of police brutality and/or violence used on police, immorality, and action taken by college administrators when confronted by student disorders. It is anticipated this information can be used through friendly news media to vividly portray the revolutionary-type actions and militant nature of the New Left movement, as well as to show that firm action by college officials has been successful in dealing with insurgents.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to all offices.

Enclosure sent 5-24-68  
1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

RLR:sib

(6)

Off 111

14 MAY 28 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## *Microranaum*

TO: Frank M. J. Sullivan

DATE: May 17, 1968

FROM : Mr. C. E. Brennan

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - DISRUPTION  
CP LEFT

You will recall that my memorandum of May 9, 1966, advised that Special Agent in Charge Dillard W. Howell of the FBI New York Office had been contacted by

an article on student violence at Columbia University. [REDACTED] had prepared an item on this incident which stated [REDACTED] that the violence was "spontaneous."

we were able to confidentially advise him of the  
background of this situation. As a result of the  
Excellent relationship the New York Office has with [redacted]  
it was possible to arrange for the proposed Associated Press  
release to be rewritten so that a factual and damaging story  
will be issued regarding the Students for a Democratic Society.

Attached are several examples showing the extensive coverage afforded the Associated Press news story by various publications. Had it not been for the last development and effective handling of this [redacted] by the New York Office, the plot of the Students for a Democratic Society at Columbia University would not have been so effectively exposed. It is felt the highly-effective handling of this matter by SAC Howell is worthy of commendation.

100% ECOLOGICAL

That a letter of commendation be directed to SAC Lovell for his handling of this matter as set forth above. 13 MAY 1944

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— 1. J. D. DeLoach  
— 2. J. P. Mohr  
— 3. E. Bishop  
— 4. P. Callahan  
— 5. C. Sullivan

LX.11.

REC-9

NOT RECORDED

28 JUN 12 1969

20 JUN 12 1968

FEES REC. UNIT

5 min:200/rsz (9)

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APR 21 1969

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100-449698-

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APR 21 1969

Emu/PYD

SAC, Albany

5/28/68

Director, FBI

EX-110 REC-21

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

31  
1 - Mr. Deloach  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. J. J. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

SAC Letter 68-30(E), dated 5/21/68, pointed out the necessity for increased coverage on college campuses to insure the Bureau is in a position to receive advance information of any planned disruptive activities. In order to facilitate the overall supervision of the Counterintelligence Program, as well as to fulfill our intelligence gathering responsibilities, all offices are instructed to provide the following detailed information, in form suitable for dissemination, for each college and/or university in their respective territories where organized New Left groups are in existence or where there have been campus disturbances during the past year. Fifteen copies of each letterhead memorandum should be submitted appropriately captioned, "New Left Activity--- University."

1) Identity of all New Left organizations, a characterization of each and approximate membership.

2) Identity of the ringleaders in each group with detailed background information, including any subversive data and a summary of activities in the New Left movement.

3) Summarize campus disruptive activities during the past year identifying the organizations involved, issues in contention, violence which erupted, and final outcome of the disorder. This category should also include information on any outside influence, as well as student and faculty participation.

Your cover communication should set forth, in detail, your present informant and/or source coverage on each campus fitting the above description, as well as in each organization mentioned. Comment should be made on programs in existence or plans being made to improve this coverage. An evaluation should be made as to the potential for violence on campuses in your territory for the forthcoming school year.

The above information should be submitted under the above caption to reach the Bureau no later than 7/7/68.

21 - All Offices

Ref: jms (122)

JUN 14 1968

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

R

Letter to Albany  
Re: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
dated 5/24/68, same caption, prepared by RR:jms.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W.C. Sullivan

DATE: May 24, 1968

FROM : C.D. Brennan

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Carper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan  Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

In order to facilitate supervision of captioned Counterintelligence Program, it is felt individual summaries regarding college campuses where organized New Left groups are in existence or where disturbances have occurred during the past year would be extremely beneficial. Analysis of these summaries would aid in selecting counterintelligence targets, would enable us to pinpoint potential trouble spots for the forthcoming school year and would also highlight any weaknesses in our informant coverage.

To fulfill our intelligence gathering responsibilities, these summaries should be submitted in form suitable for dissemination. Data regarding informant coverage and trouble potential in the forthcoming school year would be included in the cover communication. The letterhead memoranda would set forth the identity of all New Left organizations, its ringleaders and data concerning them, and a summary of campus disruptive activities which occurred during the past year.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to all offices.

Enclosure *sent 5/29/68*

RR:jms  
(6)

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

b: 110

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APR 21 1969

E.M./P.G.C.

DIRECTOR, FBI

6/4/69

SAC, CHICAGO

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
(Bufile 100-448006)  
(CG file 157-2209)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
(Bufile 100-449168)  
(CG file 100-45316)

To Bureau letter to Chicago, 5/21/69.

Referenced letter gives Chicago authority to instruct selected BPP informants for use in creating a rift between the BPP and the Students for a Democratic Society.

In the initial stages of this program, Chicago will primarily utilize [REDACTED], who is close to and completely trusted by the local BPP leadership. Care will be taken to insure that the source does not become isolated from the leadership, and he will be very carefully briefed in this regard. As the opportunity presents itself, other local BPP sources, not as close to the leadership, will be utilized.

Chicago is also considering the mechanics and preparation of a cartoon (or cartoons) type leaflet or brochure, which would serve to highlight the supposed subservient role of BPP to SDS, on the order of a white radical mounted on a black panther. This matter is being handled jointly from the above captioned offices by Chicago, and the Bureau will be in receipt of a suitable recommendation when this approach is finalized.

No counter intelligence activity will be initiated without prior Bureau authority.

100-449698-

(4) - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Chicago  
JCS/cjo

56 JUN 17 1969  
100-449698-  
100

OCT 19 1969

NOT RECORDED  
98 JUN 9 1969

100-449698-

9 CHANGED TO

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APR 21 1969

Em/PD/P

SAC, Albany

Director, FBI (100-449698)

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

5/29/68

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

In connection with your review of college campus newspapers, you should commence submitting articles which might be utilized for appropriate dissemination. Items submitted should be extremely radical on their face, use profanity or be repulsive in nature. It is anticipated these articles, editorials, letters to the editor, et cetera, can be effectively utilized through dissemination to responsible individuals, such as state legislators, friendly news media and the like.

Articles submitted should be appropriately mounted and accompanied by an unclipped copy of the same newspaper in which it appeared. Your recommendations for dissemination outlets should accompany each article.

2 - Baltimore  
2 - Boston  
2 - Chicago  
2 - Cleveland  
2 - Detroit  
2 - Indianapolis  
2 - Los Angeles  
2 - Milwaukee  
2 - Newark  
2 - New York  
2 - Philadelphia  
2 - Portland  
2 - San Francisco  
2 - Washington Field

REC-38

100-449698-10

4 MAY 29

RR:jes  
(36)

NOTE: Field offices are presently reviewing college campus newspapers on a continuing basis for pertinent information.

66 JUN 1 1968 FPE UNIT

100-449698-3, 4, 5, 6, 7

**CHANGED TO**

100-449698 SUB 9-1

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" " 25-1

APR 21 1969

Gene P. G. O.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 20, 1968

FROM : Mr. C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

An article in the May 17, 1968, issue of "The Washington Post Times Herald" reported that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) are in trouble with the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) for back taxes of about \$10,000.

IRS has been looking into the tax status of SDS since September, 1965, when certain financial data were initially disseminated to them. A check with IRS in Washington on May 17, 1968, disclosed that SDS filed no tax forms prior to initial IRS contact in November, 1967. Since that time, they have submitted appropriate returns showing a loss for each year. According to IRS the only outstanding liability established as of this date is about \$200 for Social Security taxes. IRS stated that while there is no basis to the newspaper article that about \$10,000 is due in back taxes, their investigation is continuing.

The Chicago Office on May 10, 1968, advised that the National Secretary of SDS had sent a form letter, dated May 1, 1968, to its membership which reported that IRS was making a serious move against the organization and that accountants had estimated their tax deficit would be approximately \$10,000. This letter stated that unless financial support is forthcoming, it could spell disaster for SDS.

RR:cng;

(7)

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

REC-106

ENCLOSURE

CONTINUED - OVER

66 MAY 29 1968

To: [REDACTED]  
DeLoach [REDACTED]  
Felt [REDACTED]  
Callahan [REDACTED]  
Conrad [REDACTED]  
Felt [REDACTED]  
Gale [REDACTED]  
Rosen [REDACTED]  
Sullivan [REDACTED]  
Tavel [REDACTED]  
Trotter [REDACTED]  
Tele. Room [REDACTED]  
Holmes [REDACTED]  
Gandy [REDACTED]

Memorandum Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

OBSERVATIONS:

Although IRS audit has failed to detect a serious tax deficit on SDS as of this time, it is causing them concern and necessitates their devotion of time and money to tax matters rather than formulating plans for civil disorder. It is assumed the SDS form letter of 5/1/68 is strictly quoting a "scare" figure (\$10,000) designed to solicit contributions.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*MSU/ff*

DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Around The Nation

**Back Taxes  
Demanded of  
Student Unit**

Students for a Democratic Society, deeply involved in student unrest at Berkeley, Columbia University and elsewhere, is in trouble with the Internal Revenue Service.

The IRS is seeking about \$10,000 in back taxes from the militant left-wing group. SDS says the Government has threatened to close the organization's national headquarters in Chicago if the money is not paid.

Although an IRS spokesman declined to discuss details of the case, as with any pending tax matter, he said SDS has no tax-exempt status.

"We think we're being harassed," Tim McCarthy, assistant national secretary of SDS, said in a telephone interview from Chicago. He declined to give any details, saying "It's not over and we don't want to blow it."

The Washington Post *A-6*  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date *5-17-68*

ENCLOSURE

100-4470187

SAC, Albany

1 - Mr. Felt  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
3/10/68

Director, FBI 100 449698

REC-25

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Effective immediately, the Bureau is instituting a Counterintelligence Program directed against the New Left movement and its Key Activists. All offices are instructed to immediately open an active control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for this program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent who is well versed in investigation of the New Left and its membership.

The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents. It is imperative that the activities of these groups be followed on a continuous basis so we may take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The devious maneuvers and duplicity of these activists must be exposed to public scrutiny through the cooperation of reliable news media sources, both locally and at the seat of Government. We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or faithful adherents. In every instance, consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups and opportunity should be seized to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership.

On or before June 1, 1968, all offices are instructed to submit to the Bureau a detailed analysis of potential counterintelligence action against New Left organizations and Key Activists within their respective territories. Specific recommendations should be included for any logical immediate counterintelligence action. Recommendations submitted under this program must include all necessary facts to enable the Bureau to intelligently reason upon the feasibility of the proposed action. In instances where a reliable and cooperative news media representative or other

2 - All Offices

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

FBI/WAK:jms

(129)

65 MARCH 29 1968

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE

Letter to Albany  
Re: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

source outside the Bureau is to be contacted or utilized in connection with a proposed counterintelligence operation, it will be incumbent upon the recommending office to furnish assurances the source will not reveal the Bureau's interest or betray our confidence.

Offices which have investigative responsibility for Key Activists should specifically comment in the initial letter to the Bureau regarding these individuals. As these offices are aware, these individuals have been identified as the moving forces behind the New Left.

No counterintelligence action may be initiated by the field without specific Bureau authorization.

Commencing July 1, 1968, and every three months thereafter, each participating office should submit to the Bureau a status letter covering the prior 3-month period, including comments under the following captions.

- 1) Potential Counterintelligence Action
- 2) Pending Counterintelligence Action
- 3) Tangible Results

If necessary, a fourth caption "Miscellaneous" may be utilized for additional comments.

Recommendations for counterintelligence action should not be included in the 90-day status letters to the Bureau, but should be submitted individually by separate letter.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of the New Left and the Key Activists should be alerted to our counterintelligence plans relating to these groups. Counterintelligence action directed at these groups is intended to complement and stimulate our accelerated intelligence investigations. Each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program. You are cautioned

~~Albany~~  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded this sensitive operation.

The Bureau has been very closely following the activities of the New Left and the Key Activists and is highly concerned that the anarchistic activities of a few can paralyze institutions of learning, induction centers, cripple traffic, and tie the arms of law enforcement officials all to the detriment of our society. The organizations and activists who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands must not only be contained, but must be neutralized. Law and order is mandatory for any civilized society to survive. Therefore, you must approach this new endeavor with a forward look, enthusiasm, and interest in order to accomplish our responsibilities. The importance of this new endeavor cannot and will not be overlooked.

**NOTE:**

See cover memorandum, C.D. Brennan to Mr. W.C. Sullivan, dated 5/8/68, same caption, prepared by EPG/BAW:jms.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

DATE: 5/9/68

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Uchr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Cooper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Our Nation is undergoing an era of disruption and violence caused to a large extent by various individuals generally connected with the New Left. Some of these activists urge revolution in America and call for the defeat of the United States in Vietnam. They continually and falsely allege police brutality and do not hesitate to utilize unlawful acts to further their so-called causes. The New Left has on many occasions viciously and scurrilously attacked the Director and the Bureau in an attempt to hamper our investigation of it and to drive us off the college campuses. With this in mind, it is our recommendation that a new Counterintelligence Program be designed to neutralize the New Left and the Key Activists. The Key Activists are those individuals who are the moving forces behind the New Left and on whom we have intensified our investigations.

The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of this group and persons connected with it. It is hoped that with this new program their violent and illegal activities may be reduced if not curtailed.

General instructions are being furnished to all offices relating to the purpose and administration of this new program. Briefly, these instructions require all offices to submit an analysis of possible counterintelligence operations on the New Left and on the Key Activists on or before 6/1/68, including any specific recommendations for action. Thereafter, all offices will submit a 90-day status letter setting forth a summary of their accomplishments and future plans. Each office will maintain a pending case and assign experienced

Enclosure *cont* 5-10-68

EPG/BAW:jms  
(9)

- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

MCT-15

REC 25

449698

MAY 21 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

Memo to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

personnel to this program. All proposed counterintelligence action must be approved at the Seat of Government prior to instituting it. This new program will be supervised at the Seat of Government by a Special Agent supervisor in the Internal Security Section.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- 1) That the Domestic Intelligence Division be authorized to immediately initiate a coordinated Counter-intelligence Program directed at exposing, disrupting, and otherwise neutralizing the New Left and Key Activists.
- 2) That the attached letter setting forth instructions for the administration and immediate enactment of the program be forwarded to all offices.

*DP* *A* *WCD* *✓*  
*gk* *h*